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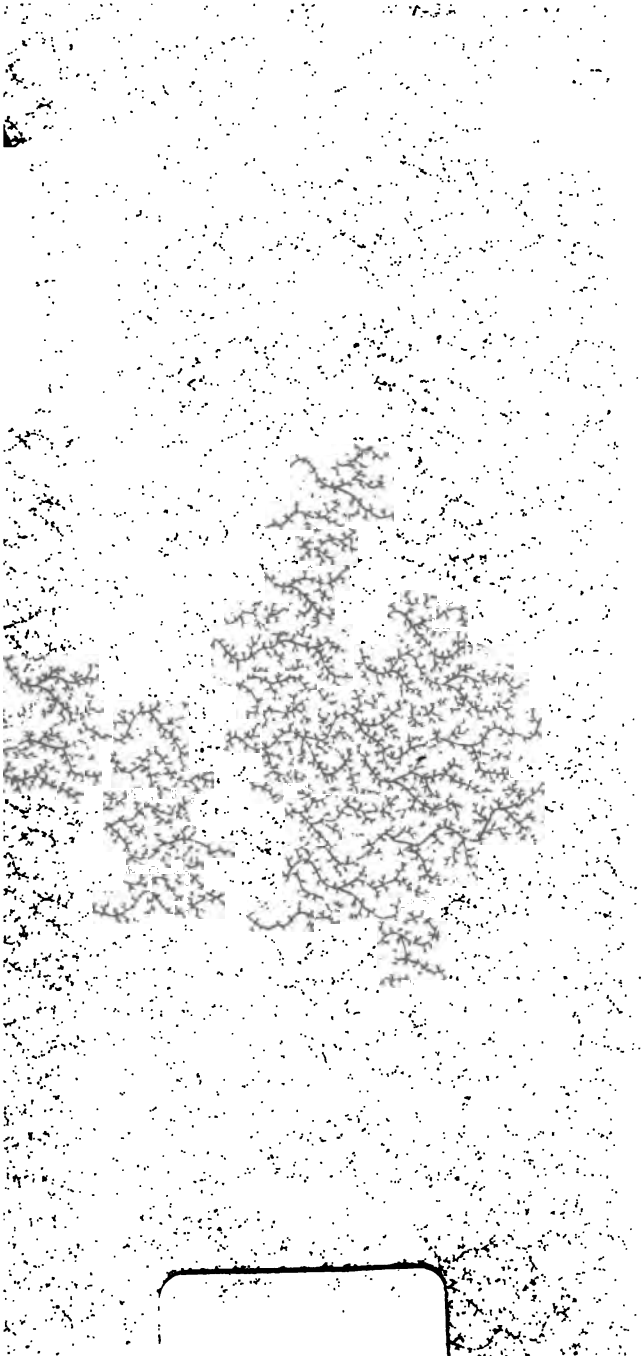
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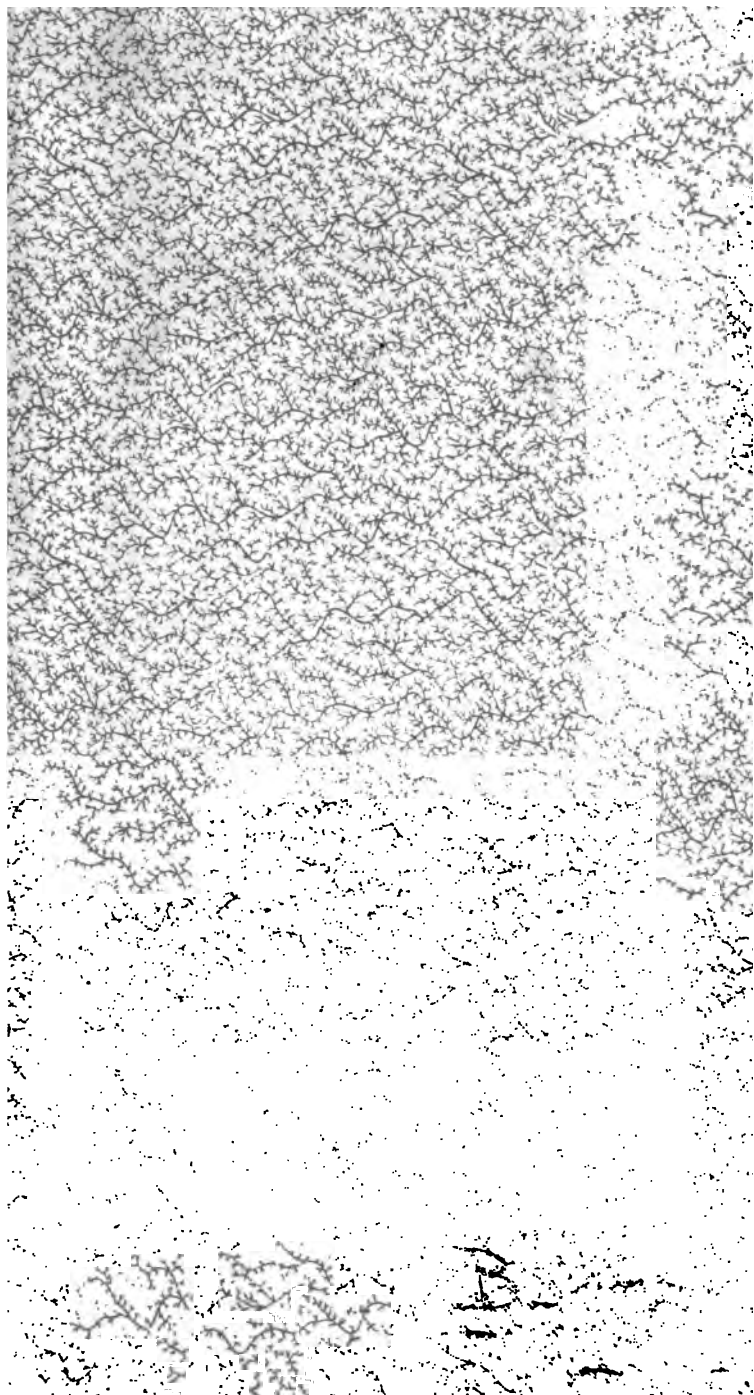
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THE  
GENUINENESS  
OF

L<sup>d</sup> *Clarendon's* History

OF THE

R E B E L L I O N

PRINTED AT OXFORD

VINDICATED.

Mr. *Oldmixon's* Slander CONFUTED.

The True State of the Case REPRESENTED.

Θιραίτ', ἀπειτόμυθε, λόγος περ ἰδὼν ἀγροητῆς,  
Ἰσραε, μηδ' ἔθελ' οἷος ἰεραζέμεθαυ Βασιλεύσι. *Ησθ. 1. 5. 24δ.*

Ἡμεῖν δὲ παρ' ἄλλῃ τῆς ἱστορίας τὰ μὲν γραφόμενα καλῶς μὴ μετατρέψαι φησὶν· τὰ  
δὲ ἀγροητῆτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς διαγνώσεισιν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων. *Digdor. Sic.*

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By JOHN BURTON B. D. Fellow of  
*Eton* College.

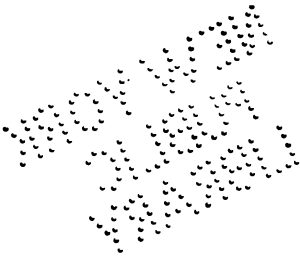
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O X F O R D,

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# P R E F A C E.

**I**T may be proper to inform the Reader, that this *Vindication of the Genuineness of Lord Clarendon's HISTORY* printed at OXFORD, was drawn up about twelve years ago: and that an extract of it was publish'd in the *Weekly Miscellany*. *Mr. Oldmixon's Slander* gave the occasion; the injury done by him to the *suppos'd Editors*, and that learned *Body*, of which I was a member, demanded some answer: my zeal for their reputation was the motive prompting me to the undertaking. *Bp. Atterbury's Vindication* led the way; the example gave encouragement. My acquaintance with *Dr. George Clarke*, a common friend both of the *Clarendon-family* and *Dean Aldrich*, and with *Bp. Tanner*, and some other persons of long standing in the *University*, gave a favourable opportunity of pursuing my enquiries on this head to good purpose: under their direction and assistance these notices were collected, which, with my observations upon them, are now communicated to the *Publick*.

*It is to be remark'd that that part of these Papers, which was publish'd in the Weekly Miscellany, had relation only to one point, viz. the confutation of Mr. Oldmixon's charge. It was at that time thought unnecessary to proceed any farther: the publication of the remainder was suspended, till either some Reply, or some new cavil or exception gave fresh occasion to pro-*

## Preface.

*secute the controversy. Something was indeed publish'd improperly call'd a Reply to Bp. Atterbury: and some time afterward another thing forc'd it's way into the world, call'd a Reply to the groundless reflexions of Oxoniensis &c. but both these were such performances, as plainly shew'd the distress of the baffled Pamphleteer, deserted by his Vouchers, without defence, without excuse, without shame, and without ingenuity either to acknowledge the mistake, or retract the Slander; so that, as by the manner of opposition he appears to have in effect given up the point, as no longer defensible, I might safely let the dispute rest upon the present footing. However some few strictures on the first performance are inserted in these Papers: and a Reply to the latter was publish'd in the Weekly Miscellany.*

*In the mean while it must be own'd that the world had reason to expect somewhat more than the bare confutation of Mr. Oldmixon's improbable story: an account of the true state of the matter in dispute has been long desir'd; being that, which alone could give the best satisfaction to all rational enquirers. We are apt to complain of neglect in our Predecessors for not preserving and transmitting to us notices of facts well known in their days, and fresh in their memories; yet at the same time we ourselves are often, I know not how, insensibly led into the same neglect. Generous minds commonly overlook with a like contempt both the weakness and boldness of ill-grounded reports; --- and the generality of mankind, being less interested, are accordingly less attentive to matters of this kind; so that it often happens that little or no care is taken to unde-*  
*ceive*

## Preface.

ceive Posterity, to whom the misrepresentation is handed down without the reasons, by which it is disprov'd and confuted: or, if such care should be taken in any particular instance, yet it may not be found sufficient to answer the main purpose, to produce a general conviction or satisfaction. Many inquisitive persons want to know more of the merits of the cause than what is contain'd in the answers to objections hitherto made, and, while they think themselves kept in the dark, are apt to grow uneasy and suspicious: Still the point lies open to some other exceptions: the assailants repuls'd in their first attack, as they know not the strength of the Fortress, flatter themselves with success in an attempt on another quarter. And accordingly in the present case, if this slander of Mr. Oldmixon be never reviv'd, yet some other story of like kind, built on like hear-say evidence, may perhaps be rais'd at some distance of time, when most men may probably want inclination, and few men are furnish'd with proper materials for disproving the falsehood. In such circumstances we perceive the expediency of laying before the publick the true state of this affair as it has come to our knowledge, as being the most likely means to settle men's notions about the point, and preclude all cavils on this head for the future. In this, as well as other cases, inconveniences may at first be easily prevented, which cannot afterwards be easily remov'd: the sooner any thing is done for this purpose so much the better; since the difficulty is like to continually encrease in proportion to the greater distance of time.

Besides, the consideration of the various casualties  
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## Preface.

*incident to Persons and things points out the danger, which generally attends delays in these proceedings. We see what has already happen'd, since the first drawing up these papers: Bp. Tanner, Dr. George Clarke, and others, whose names I had occasion to mention, are dead; and indeed but few Persons are now alive, who had any immediate knowledge of the point in debate: and it might happen that all the evidences themselves might have been lost together with the Persons of those, by whom they were collected; especially as there seem'd to be no necessity of troubling the world any further, either by a fuller confutation of exploded slanders, or the special proofs of a point, which ought to be taken for granted. These circumstances being consider'd, we may perceive how expedient it is to make a timely use of those means of defence we at present have in our hands; which thro' our negligence and unnecessary delays are in danger of being lost or impair'd, and cannot perhaps afterwards without the greatest difficulty be recover'd.*

*These considerations suggested by Persons, to whose judgment I owe great deference, have determin'd me no longer to defer the publication of all that I had wrote on this subject: however late it comes into the world, I hope it will not be thought unseasonable, or unacceptable to the Publick.*

*The Reader is already inform'd that part of these papers was publish'd in the Weekly Miscellany 1732-3: he will there find mention made of several Persons as then living, who are since dead: thus for example I appeal to Dr. Terry as ready to vouch the truth of a fact asserted; and I speak of a MS. as at present in the*

## Preface.

*the Possession of Dr. Clarke &c. Now I must here advertise him that he will find the mention made of those persons without any alteration, in the same manner in which it was first publish'd: and accordingly he is desir'd to make allowances for the date of time, and other circumstances of the like kind.*

*Several Papers, to which I had occasion to refer, are here subjoin'd by way of Appendix. Bp. Atterbury's Vindication is a performance, which must please every judicious Reader; and as it sets forth at large the grounds of Mr. Oldmixon's charge together with the confutation, it might perhaps with more propriety be prefix'd as the best Preface I cou'd offer; and indeed it is such a one as wou'd make a good part of the following Papers appear less necessary.*

*Mr. Wogan's testimonial communicated in the most ingenuous obliging manner demands my most thankful Acknowledgement: at the same time it will also be acceptable to the Reader, as it contains new and curious matter, and, as far as it goes, the most pertinent and decisive evidence.*

*I have insert'd Mr. Oldmixon's Reply to Oxoniensis --- that his friends may not complain of unfair proceeding if any thing alleg'd in his favour was suppress'd, and that the world may be convinc'd how little he had to say in his own defence: I shou'd not otherwise have troubled the Reader with such an idle impertinent Paper.*

*With regard to what is added concerning the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ --- I cannot dissemble that I was willingly led from the consideration of a similar case to state that controversy,*

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trouery, and glad of the occasion to remove ill-grounded prejudices, and vindicate the genuineness of that excellent work.

Upon the whole, I am sensible of the various defects incident to performances of this kind, such as are personal altercations, — tedious details of minute circumstances, — reflections, — and digressions --- &c. these, as they could not easily be avoided, will I hope be more readily excus'd.

To conclude, if the publication of these papers shall be found to serve any good purpose, --- to rectify mistakes -- remove prejudices --- obviate objections --- vindicate the character of worthy persons injur'd --- and give satisfaction to the reasonable enquirer, my design is well answer'd. And moreover, as far as the Credit of this History is connected with the proofs of it's genuineness, I shall have an additional reason to be pleas'd with the success of my endeavours, inasmuch as I am perswaded that this History, (whatever defects or faults it may have in common with all other compositions of like kind) is founded upon the most complete view and knowledge of the English Constitution: and all along inculcates those Political principles, the influence of which promotes and preserves the common happiness, by securing to the Crown as great a share of Authority as any good Prince can desire, and to the People as great a share of Liberty as is consistent with the Loyalty of a good Subject.

THE

The GENUINENESS of  
 L<sup>d</sup> *Clarendon's* History  
 VINDICATED.

**T**HE Genuineness of the Lord CLAREN-  
 DON'S *History of the Rebel-  
 lion &c. printed at Oxford* has been  
 call'd in question upon very insuf-  
 ficient evidence, and in a very indecent man-  
 ner. An accusation of *forgery*, of *interpolating*  
 the Copy has been advanc'd against the sup-  
 pos'd Editors; and the University of *Oxford*  
 is in some degree involv'd in the imputation.  
 Some Vindication has with reason been wish'd  
 for and expected from *that* Place, which is  
 more immediately affected by the slander; and  
 especially at *this* time, while many persons are  
 still living, who by their knowledge of the  
 matter in dispute are enabled to disprove the  
 charge. Cavils and exceptions, however frivo-  
 lous and groundless in themselves, ought now  
 no longer to pass unregarded. When once  
 they have the fortune to be receiv'd with ap-  
 plause, and are likely to grow into popular  
 A notions,



notions, they then begin to assume an air of importance, they then provoke our notice, and require some satisfactory answer or publick animadversion. To confute misrepresentations in such a case is a debt of justice to the World, which has a right to be undeceived; a debt of justice to the characters of the Parties injured by the false accusation, as well as to the memory of that excellent Patriot and Historian, to whose moderate counsels we owe chiefly the preservation of our civil and religious establishments.

I must here remark the peculiar difficulties and disadvantages attending the vindication of Parties *deceas'd* and *publick Bodies*. With regard to the *living*, an attack upon their reputation is follow'd by an apparent hazard; for the Party aggriev'd wou'd immediately stand up in his own defence, and demand satisfaction for the injury. But with regard to the *deceas'd* the case is different. Private friends, who disbelieve, may perhaps loudly express their resentment of the wrong, but such vindication is generally confin'd to the narrow circle of their acquaintance; it seldom happens that they enter into a *publick* dispute, and trouble the world with a confutation of the falsehood: so that the very impudence in  
 publish-

publishing gives the Slanderer an advantage, which distance of time will continually improve. And with regard to *publick Bodies* 'tis a well-known observation, that the members are seldom forward to interest themselves in any cause where they are not personally affected: so that no man makes that his particular business, which is the general concern of the Community. I here mention these remarks to shew that in the ordinary course of things it cannot be expected, but that many provoking cavils and objections should pass unregarded and unanswer'd; and that therefore in such circumstances it would be injurious to interpret the silence of any Party, who is not personally interested, as a presumptive proof of guilt; or admit Mr. *Oldmixon's* charge as true, merely because it has not yet been confuted by a formal Answer.

However, that bold falsehoods may not be propagated without contradiction and confutation, I offer to the publick the following Vindication, in which I endeavour to prove the genuineness of the *Oxford* Edition. It might perhaps in the present case be thought sufficient to answer Objections as far as they hitherto have been advanc'd; and indeed it is much easier to disprove misrepresentations

than to establish truth; Yet, considering the unsettled notions and variety of conjectures on this head, I shall proceed farther; and in order to preclude many exceptions for the future, and give competent satisfaction to reasonable enquirers, I shall endeavour to lay down the true state of the case from the best notices I could collect in the course of my enquiries: Imperfect as they are, they may be sufficient to inform the ignorance of some, to rectify the mistakes of others, and perhaps give occasion to persons favour'd with better opportunities and abilities to communicate to the world a more satisfactory account.

But, before I proceed to examine the charge of *forgery* publish'd by Mr. *Oldmixon*, in order to give the Reader a more full and distinct view of this subject, I shall carry back his attention to the time of the publication of the work, and consider the proofs of genuineness, which it *brought with it into the world*, and the *reception*, which from that time it has all along met with.

'Tis an allow'd principle, that the genuineness of every book may fairly be *presum'd*, 'till there appears some Evidence to the contrary. Now this presumption rises in proportion to the *moral* character of those, thro' whose hands the

the

the work comes into the world; and accordingly, when it happens that they are persons remarkable for their *integrity* as well as *high Station*, the evidence brought to overthrow it must be proportionably full and clear. Now this Evidence is either *external*, or *internal*, is either such, as arises from the *testimony of others*; or is such, as is contain'd in the *work it self*; arising either from some notorious incongruities in the *style*, or inconsistencies in the *facts* themselves, or the *circumstances*, with which they are related, or from some manifest disagreement with the known sentiments of the *Author*.

They, who are conversant in works of Criticism, cannot but observe, that this latter kind of evidence has in many instances been successfully applied. Interpolations, and many other indirect practices of the like nature have frequently been detected; and the genuine parts of an Author accurately distinguish'd from the spurious. Such frauds being generally manag'd either with too little art, or the appearance of too much art, have often carried with themselves the means of their discovery. The management of such a design is dishonest; a good man wou'd not be engag'd in it: It is withal dangerous; a wise man would see reasons

sons to be discourag'd from the attempt: It is moreover a task of no small difficulty; a weak head is not equal to it. So that some very solid and substantial grounds must appear, before any candid judge will be persuaded to credit any imputation of that kind.

Accordingly, posthumous works, publish'd by some friend of the deceas'd author, are without scruple receiv'd for genuine. Many valuable pieces have by these means been communicated to the publick: and he, who without some special reason, calls their authority in question, wou'd be esteem'd an unreasonable and uncharitable man. I wou'd therefore desire all Critical Objectors, before they fix the imputation of *forgery* upon any particular book, to examine impartially the grounds on which they proceed, and then apply their arguments to all other cases of like nature, and consider their force when thus carried on to the utmost Extent. An Argument, which proves too much, proves nothing; it destroys it self. A good Reasoner would not use such in disputation: A wise man wou'd be cautious how he admits any conclusion to serve a present turn, which in it's natural tendency will wound him in his more valuable interests. If therefore the same reasons, upon which they deny  
the

the genuineness of *this* particular history, may be with equal force applied to overthrow the establish'd authority of many *other* posthumous works, whose credit they would most zealously support; 'tis to be hoped, that out of a tender regard to *them*, they would be induc'd to moderate their censures, and be convinc'd of the folly of their reasonings from the mischief of their tendency, and desist from such an invidious and hazardous attempt.

Let us here observe that as on one hand incongruities of Stile, of circumstances and facts are marks, which betray the forgery, so, on the other hand, the appearance of the contrary qualities shou'd by parity of reason recommend every work with the fair presumption of it's genuineness; and this more especially holds, where the subject matter of the history is some important controverted point, in which the interest of any Party is thought to be concern'd. Where men's passions are so nearly touch'd, they will be dispos'd to overlook no blemish, and the offensive work will be examin'd with the most insidious Curiosity. Warm *Party*-men generally set up for able Criticks in history; here is matter upon which they are forward to exercise their skill. All obnoxious parts of the *heterodox* Author are severely censur'd

fur'd and purged away by this sort of Political inquisition, and the stubborn assertions, which cannot be *disprov'd*, are sure to be *discredit-ed*; and, if any *internal* mark of forgery can be perceived, without doubt it will soon be exaggerated to the utmost by such persons, who are prompted by *Party-zeal*, as well as the common vanity of Criticks, to triumph in a discovery so meritorious, which at once seems to serve the interest of their cause, and to pay no small compliment to their sagacity.

Now to apply these considerations to the present case: 'tis well known that Lord *Clarendon's* History treats of a point, which few Readers think on with indifference; it seems not less to inflame their passions, than excite their curiosity. The very subject has given offence to some people, and the *Title-Page* has been esteem'd a Libel; and from thence the whole performance has been prejudg'd and condemn'd. But the most inquisitive Criticks, those who neither wanted ability or inclination to discredit a work, which was not agreeable to their notions, were never able to distinguish any *internal* marks of forgery; nor have they upon any discovery of *this* kind pre-

sum'd to call the genuineness of the work in question: From whence I may be allow'd to conclude that there never appear'd any grounds for such an imputation. On the contrary, throughout the whole work, a work of so great length and nicety, there appears in the *style*, which is distinguish'd by peculiarities inimitable, such an exact uniformity; and in the *matter*, such a remarkable congruity with the avow'd sentiments, and known character of the Author, that, as far as the genuineness of a writing can be ascertained by *internal* evidences, the judicious Reader will find abundant reason to conclude that this is the genuine performance of EDWARD E. of CLARENDON.

As far then as *presumptions* in any case are to be admitted, surely those on the *favourable* side ought to take place rather than those of an *invidious* nature; and therefore, since the circumstances above-mention'd carry in them as fair a presumptive argument on the favourable side of the question as any case of that kind admits, we have here sufficient grounds to shew candour in our judgment without the imputation of foolish credulity, and rest in our present persuasion upon such probable evidence.

But, besides these *presumptions* and *internal*  
marks



marks of genuineness, I observe in the *second* place, the work comes accompanied with a sufficient *external* evidence, viz. the *testimony of the Editors*. *Who* they were might easily be learnt from the *Preface* to the first volume. Though the name of the writer be industriously concealed, yet the subject-matter of several passages plainly points out the persons, by whom *alone* it could with any truth or propriety be so feelingly asserted; the Sons of the noble Author, *Henry E. of Clarendon* and *Lawrence E. of Rochester*. The sagacity of a Critical enquirer might easily have discover'd this; and surely it behoved Mr. *Oldmixon* to have been well assur'd of this point before he threw out his random-censures. Tho' we distinguish only the E. of *Rochester's* Pen, yet we must understand the *Preface* as address'd to the world by the joint authority of both Brothers. It came to the Press written by the *Earl's* hand: for the truth of this fact I appeal to the Rev. Dr. *Terry* then corrector of the Press. To this I add what I myself heard asserted by the Rev. Mr. *Cole*, a Person of unexceptionable character and in great confidence with the *Earl*, who had liv'd in the *Clarendon* family above thirty years, viz. that he at several times saw the *Earl* writing it, and that

Dr.

Dr. *Aldrich* frequently came over to *Cornbury-house* and assisted in revising it.

The *Dedications* also appear'd to be written by the same hand; the matter so agreeable to his known political Sentiments, and the authoritative manner of address plainly *speaks* the Writer the *Uncle* to *Queen ANN*.

From the E. of *Clarendon's* last Will and Testament, which the Reader will find subjoin'd to these Papers, it appears that both Brothers were made joint Executors of their Father's will: "jointly entrusted with all their Father's papers and writings of what kind soever, left entirely to their disposal, as they shou'd be advis'd, either by suppressing or publishing, by the advice and approbation of my Lord Arch-Bp. of *Canterbury*, (Arch-Bp. *Sheldon*) and the Bp. of *Winchester*, (Bp. *Morley*) whom their Father entreated to be overseers of His Will." Both Brothers then must be esteem'd the proper Editors of their Father's history, which they jointly present to the Publick, with a declaration of their fidelity in the following Words: "They, who put out this History, durst not take upon them to make any alteration in a work of this kind, solemnly left with them to be publish'd, (whenever it shou'd be publish'd) as it was delivered to them."

The

The Sons of the Noble Author, who had the custody and revival of the original *MS.* gave the world this assurance of the genuineness of the *Oxford* Edition: A circumstance, of sufficient weight to determine the question! A reasonable man need require no further proof, but readily accept as authentick what thus comes out printed by their direction, and authoriz'd by their testimony.

Since the proofs of their *good* Character virtually assert the *genuineness* of the Work publish'd by their direction, I beg leave to produce the testimony of an Historian on all occasions very sparing of his praises; Bp. *Burnet* in his history of his own times Vol. I. p. 257, 258. I chuse to transcribe at length the whole character of the two Brothers, mix'd as it is with circumstances which do not much relate to our present purpose, rather than give an imperfect extract, which might be liable to the imputation of partiality.

“I will end this relation of Lord *Clarendon's*  
 “fall with an Account of his two Sons. The  
 “Eldest, now E. of *Clarendon*, is a man natu-  
 “rally sincere; he is a friendly and good na-  
 “tur'd man: he keeps an exact journal of all  
 “that passes, and is punctual to tediousness in  
 “all that he relates: he was early engag'd in  
 “great

“great secrets; for his Father, apprehending  
 “of what fatal consequence it wou’d have been  
 “to the King’s affairs, if his correspondence  
 “had been discover’d by unfaithful Secreta-  
 “ries, engaged him when very young to write  
 “all his Letters to *England* in cypher; so that  
 “he was generally half the day writing in cy-  
 “pher and decyphering; and was so discreet,  
 “as well as faithful, that nothing was ever dis-  
 “cover’d by him. He continued to be still the  
 “Person whom his Father trusted most, and  
 “was the most belov’d of all the family. For  
 “he was humble and obliging, tho’ sometimes  
 “peevish; his judgment was not to be much  
 “depended on, for he was, much carried by  
 “vulgar prejudices and false notions. He was  
 “much in the Queen’s favour, and was her  
 “Chamberlain long. His father’s being so vio-  
 “lently prosecuted on the account of her mar-  
 “riage, made that she thought herself bound  
 “to protect him in a particular manner. He  
 “was so provok’d at the ill usage his Father  
 “met with, that he struck in violently with the  
 “Party, that oppos’d the Court; and the King  
 “spoke always of him with Sharpness and much  
 “Scorn.

“His Brother, now E. of *Rochester*, is a man  
 “of far greater parts: he has a good Pen, but  
 “speaks

“speaks not gracefully: he was thought the  
 “smoothest man in Court, and, during all the  
 “dispute concerning his Father, he made his  
 “court so dextrously, that no resentments ever  
 “appear’d on that head. When he came into  
 “business and rose to high Posts, he grew vio-  
 “lent; but was thought an uncorrupt man:  
 “he has high notions of government, and  
 “thinks it must be maintain’d with great fe-  
 “verity. He delivers up his own notions to  
 “his Party that he may lead them; he passes  
 “for a Sincere man, and seems to have too  
 “much heat to be false.”

Such was the character of the two Brothers,  
 the Editors of this work, given by Bp. *Burnet*:  
 A character sufficient to give weight to their  
 assertions. And now upon the whole, from  
 what has been offer’d, I am led to conclude  
 that this work brought into the world with it  
 as fair *presumptions*, and as strong *internal* evi-  
 dences of genuineness, as can be requir’d in  
 any case of this kind: and, besides this, the  
*external* evidence of *testimony*, the testimony  
 of two considerable persons, as eminent for  
 their integrity and *honour*, as high Station and  
*Quality*, the *Sons* of the noble Historian.

Now after all This, which ought not to have  
 escap’d the notice of a *Critical Historian*, who  
 wou’d

wou'd not be astonish'd at the bold charge of *Forgery*; of an action, very wicked in the contrivance, difficult and dangerous in the execution, such as no wise or honest man can be supposed to attempt ---- a charge so very improbable, that, unless it comes supported by some direct plain proof, it ought to be reject-ed with indignation, as a breach of Christian charity, as well as good manners?

Let us now proceed to enquire what *reception* the work has met with from the time of its first appearance in the world. This we find to be no other than what was to be expected in such circumstances; being more or less favourable according to the different principles of the several Readers; distinguish'd by the esteem and approbation of all moderate men, as worthy of that great and good man whose name it bears; but dislike'd and discredited by the violent men of all *Parties*: by all receiv'd as the performance of Lord *Clarendon*. Considering the effects of men's prejudices 'twas hardly possible but that an history on so nice and tender a Subject must displease some *Party* or other. Men of such warm complexions cannot but be angry with every performance in which they find their own extravagances virtually condemned, and be pleas'd with every

ry attempt which tends to weaken the credit of an adversary. Accordingly 'tis observable that in fact Some persons out of zeal for the Royal cause have blam'd the Historian for not dissembling the blemishes in the characters of some favourite great men, and for freely censuring the unwarrantable measures taken by the Government. It might therefore be expected that since this history contains a strenuous defence of the Liberties and Rights of the *Subject* against the encroachments of the *Crown* in the former part of K. CHARLES I. reign, it might have escap'd the censure of Those, who affect to be thought zealous Patrons of the *same* Cause. But it has happen'd that *these* men have appear'd most dissatisfied with the characters of Persons and representations of Facts. A clamorous opposition has indeed been rais'd against this excellent history: but upon *what* foot was it rais'd? Upon such as, instead of denying, supposes the genuineness of the Work. The opposers endeavour'd to disprove the truth of the assertions which gave offence: But what then? the knowledge or integrity of the Historian might be call'd in question? yet the genuineness of the History it self might not be in the least impeached. As Lord *Clarendon's* performance it

was

was receiv'd; as *such* it was oppos'd. On all hands there appears no Suspicion of *Forgery*. Cou'd *such* a charge have been prov'd, they then had gain'd their point at one stroke, and triumph'd without any further opposition. But no proof of this kind has ever yet appear'd: that none was ever offer'd to the publick, (if *such* an argument be in any case conclusive) may fairly be presum'd from the Silence of that industrious Collector of Scandal, Mr. *Oldmixon*, who most assuredly wou'd have improv'd it with all the aggravations, which a prejudic'd mind cou'd suggest. Whereas this Author, in his *Critical History*, where he omits no Circumstance which might discredit Lord *Clarendon's* Work, all along rather *supposes* than *questions* the genuineness of it, and accordingly directs his Cavils not against the *authentickness*, but the *Subject-matter* of it. Thus *Vol. 1. p. 168.* he condemns him as *stumbling at the threshold*, for calling his Account of the *Civil War*, the *History of the Grand Rebellion &c.* The only insinuation of any indirect practice in the publication, and that with regard only to the *title*, occurs in p. 42. and this, contrary to his usual manner, couch'd with some diffidence. "I know not, says he, if the E. of *Clarendon* "did call his History, that of the Rebellion



“himself, or whether it was so entitled by the “*Christ-Church* men; there being more in it of “the spirit and manners of Collegiates, than “of a man of Quality.” And, in his Preface to his *Remarks* on the History of the Rebellion printed 1727, he mention’d his *suspicion*, that the MS. was interpolated, a suspicion founded on the observations of *Gallicisms*, which frequently are to be met with in Lord *Clarendon’s* Stile, which he very sagaciously conjectured to be of too modern date, to be us’d by the *Earl*; --- but he tells us at the same time “he lays no great stress upon this “circumstance.” And indeed he would do well to retract his Criticism: for this very *peculiar-ity* of stile is a circumstance, which, with appearance of greater probability, proves that it came from the *Earl’s* pen; it being natural to suppose that He shou’d adopt many words into his history from that language, which was render’d familiar to him by his long exile in *France*.

We may further observe that nothing of this kind appears to have been mention’d among the variety of Oral Traditions and defamatory falsehoods publish’d by <sup>a</sup> *Dr. John Ayliffe*; nor

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<sup>a</sup> Degraded for contempt of the Authority of the University, and opposition to it’s rights and privileges, Feb. 8. 1714.

in that famous collection of University-Scandal both jocular and serious, entitled *‘Terra-filius.* It is well known that *neither* of these two writers were so tender of the reputation of their *Alma Mater* as to conceal this notorious blemish: *neither* of them would have been silent on so desirable a Topic, on which they could have harangued with so much applause and triumph. From hence we may conclude, that they had either not heard, or at least had not credited this charge of corrupting the faith of History. Many other writers of like kind there are, who wanted neither inclination nor encouragement to undeceive the world in such a case: But, as nothing on this head has yet dropp’d from their pen, which deserv’d any publick regard, I am led to resume this conclusion, that even in *their* opinion the *Oxford* Edition was esteem’d *genuine.* They were indeed forward enough to *discredit* the History, but they did not reject it as an *adulterated, spurious* work. They were busy in making enquiries concerning all circumstances of the publication at the *Oxford* Press, but discover’d nothing upon which they could ground *such* an imputation. Many questions on this occasion

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<sup>a</sup> Published by Mr. N. Ambust scholar of St. John’s College, who was denied his actuality or succession to a fellowship 1719.

might be ask'd of the *Oxford-Men*, who did really know but little more of the matter than they themselves. The Work was indeed printed at the University-Press: but *they* were not concern'd in conducting the Edition, and accordingly not qualified to answer the several overcurious impertinent enquiries, which might be made on this occasion. These Critical, prejudic'd enquirers therefore, not having their curiosity gratified from this quarter, yet, affecting to know something of the matter, indulg'd themselves in a bold liberty of doubting, conjecturing, and surmising, and endeavour'd to give a plausible turn to their Suggestions: but still, all that cou'd be alledg'd with the most specious appearance, was nothing but surmises and conjectures of uncertain weight, owing their Credibility in a great measure to the favourable disposition of the Party, to whom they were propos'd. In the mean while the Authority of the History prevail'd, nor was it likely to be overthrown on the present footing.

To this end, some *new* Scheme was necessary: --- Instead of general *presumptions* some *special* charge shou'd be brought, and come supported by the appearance of some direct proof. --- A bold stroke of this kind was like

to

to succeed, especially among their own party; since all men are easily perswaded to believe what they wish to be true. --- If then it was thought an attempt too hazardous to impeach the *veracity* of Lord *Clarendon*, yet the *genuineness* of the work might be more safely question'd; for this was only impeaching the fidelity of the suppos'd *Editors*: --- This appear'd a more safe and easy, as it certainly was a more compendious and effectual Scheme. --- And surely there might be found men of singularity and blind zeal, fit instruments to carry on such a design. Many incidental circumstances might be so improved as to give countenance and credit --- for example, some *hear-say* testimony of some *ingenious* Gentleman *deceased* against the suppos'd Editors and Interpolators, who were very *obnoxious* Men, either long since *dead*, or suppos'd not in a *capacity* to vindicate themselves; --- a charge founded upon evidence, *thus* circumstantiated, brought upon the stage at a great *distance* of time, and recommended with an air of *assurance*, might have a chance to pass without confutation or contradiction.

And thus at length comes into the world the pompous charge of Forgery advanc'd by Mr. *John Oldmixon*; usher'd in with an air of triumph,

triumph, and endeavouring to enforce conviction by dint of clamour. It has been industriously propagated abroad, as well as at home: it is inserted at length in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée des Ouvrages des Sçavans de l'Europe*, and cited from thence by Bp. *Atterbury* in his *Vindication* together with the reflexions of the *Dutch Journalist*.

To this I must add the remarks of another Writer, Mr. *Clark* of *Hull*, who seems to have improved even upon Mr. *Oldmixon*, from whom he copies, and has heightened the bitterness of his censure with an air of seriousness and solemnity. In his *Essay on Study*, publish'd 1730, he speaks thus: p. 234. "I need not caution any Gentleman against *the History of the Civil War* &c. that goes under the name of "the E. of *Clarendon*; since that is now well "known to be so basely interpolated and corrupted up and down, as not to be depended upon at all; This at least is charg'd upon "some, that were entrusted with the Copy of "that work, upon evidence that seems far from "contemptible; and therefore, till that charge "is substantially answer'd, it must and will, I "suppose, pass with all reasonable people for "matter of fact.

Again p. 88, among other charges against the

the Univerſity of *Oxford*, he mentions the ugly crime of endeavouring to “corrupt the faith  
 “of hiſtory; which the ſame Gentlemen, viz.  
 “the Conductors of a famous Univerſity, have  
 “been lately Convicted of, upon evidence ſo  
 “clear and full, that it has not been thought  
 “fit to make any reply to it. --- God forbid,  
 “Such desperate folly and wickedneſs ſhou’d  
 “any longer prevail in a place deſtin’d to the  
 “training up of Youth in Wiſdom and Virtue!  
 “If it ſhou’d, the caſe of ſuch, as go thither  
 “for education, will be lamentable indeed!

’Tis not indeed a matter of much ſurprize that *foreign* Writers, men unacquainted with the true ſtate of our *Engliſh* affairs, ſhould meaſure the evidence of truth by the boldneſs of the aſſertions, and accordingly form their reaſonings; but it may well be wonder’d that *this* Gentleman, who has been commended for a good Reaſoner upon a nice ſubject by a very worthy and learned Divine, could be ſo eaſily perſwaded into the belief of a ſtory in it ſelf ſo improbable, and ſupported by evidence ſo very precarious and queſtionable.

If the *Univerſity* in full Convocation had concerted and authoriz’d the fraud, he cou’d not well have expreſs’d himſelf in ſtronger terms. A charitable man would ſurely be inclin’d

clin'd to suspend his assent upon so tender a point, and would never have appear'd so forward to aggravate a very hainous charge against persons of high character, and to triumph in the malicious imputation. I fear this proceeding cannot well be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing him possess'd with a strong prejudice against the History of Lord *Clarendon*, or against the University of *Oxford*; and accordingly overwilling to be convinced by *any* evidence, that might overthrow it's authority, or blast the reputation of the supposed Editors. If, what is here offer'd in support of the genuineness of the *Oxford* Edition, be found conclusive, 'tis to be hop'd that this Gentleman will now shew an instance of ingenuity in acknowledging his error, and retracting his groundless and uncharitable reflexions.

What *other* writers have either implicitly believed or industriously propagated this Scandal, I have not yet learnt: but this I must observe on the present occasion, that when ingenious Authors, whose works are like to fall into many hands, publish such bold falsehoods under the notion of facts proved without contradiction, it behoveth those, who are furnish'd with proper materials, to undeceive the world,

world, and confute the ill-natured misrepresentations.

And now, upon a review of what has hitherto been offered, it appears that all *presumptions* stand in our favour --- and that we are fairly in *possession* of the Right, which we assert, and shall be *reputed* so, 'till the Plaintiff makes good his claim.

I now proceed to enter into the *merits* of the Cause, and to examine the Charge lately advanced against the genuineness of Lord *Clarendon's* history.

An hainous Charge of *Forgery* has been presented to the world, asserted with unusual confidence, and aggravated with the most injurious reflexions. If indeed it had been directed against the *proper* Parties concerned, and *soon* after the time of Publication, at a time most proper for clearing up any difficulty on this head, the Dispute would have been soon ended; and the speedy conviction of the false accuser would have exposed the wickedness and folly of the accusation. But, being now delay'd so many years, and at length, whether by mistake or design, fix'd upon *wrong* Parties, it comes with the advantage of a *surprize* on our apprehensions, deceiving weak minds into a belief of the strange Story; and puts



puts us under no small difficulty to confute, what at the same time we are fully perswaded is improbable, and false. For a long time, between *twenty* and *thirty* years, amidst a variety of Persons sufficiently prejudic'd against the work, no *Critick* appear'd so sagacious as to discover the fraud, no *Historian* so daring in the cause of Truth, as to publish it to the world. *This* work was reserv'd for that singular Author, whose charge I now proceed to consider.

'Tis pretended that some wonderful discoveries have been lately made: an occurrence, so astonishing, so important, must of course excite our curiosity, and raise our expectation;

*Quid dignum tanto feret hic Promissor hiatus?*  
We are naturally led to enquire into every circumstance of a fact so remarkable, --- *who* are the Parties *accus'd*? --- what was the *time* in which the suppos'd *discovery* was made? --- by *whom* was it made? --- and to *whom* was it communicated? --- at *what* time was it *publish'd* to the world? --- and by *whom*? --- The consideration of these circumstances takes in the examination of the whole Evidence, by which the Charge is supported. I shall speak to each of these particulars briefly, and in their respective order.

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As for the Parties *accused*, it seems they could be no other than *Clergymen*. For (as we are informed in the *preface* to the *History of the Stuarts*) “it appears at first sight that “Those, who directed those alterations, were “zealous for the *Laudean* Hierarchy, and the “honours and emoluments thereunto belonging, in which no *Lay-hand* could have laboured so much.” And in particular we find three specified, three successively *Deans* of *Christ-Church, Aldrich, Atterbury, Smalldridge*. Considerable persons indeed! so very unlikely to be confederate in such a Scandalous fraud, that their very names carry sufficient weight to confute the calumny, which they confront. Nor can any one, without a very great degree of prejudice and credulity, imagine them engaged in interpolating a *MS.* which had at different times been perus'd by several different persons; or, in other words, endeavouring to impose a fraud upon the World, which wou'd in all likelyhood be soon *detected*; and, to render the discovery still more easy, employing *another* person in the execution of the design. Were then the abilities of these three Gentlemen so mean, as to *need any* assistance? — or, if any was at all necessary, was their judgment so weak as to fix upon *such* a person,

as

as is here suppos'd? Yet, it seems, *they* were pitch'd upon as fit persons to sustain this hainous imputation, being suppos'd utterly incapable of vindicating themselves; and therefore such as might be abus'd with safety, yielding to their Accusers an easy triumph without opposition.

Dean *Aldrich* has now been dead above *twenty* years: Dean *Smalldridge* above *eleven*; and Dean *Atterbury*, the Survivor, was thought as good as dead, as to all purposes of answering, and confuting the Charge: And near *thirty* years have pass'd, since the suppos'd commission of the fact alledg'd. In these circumstances much room is given to the boldness of any Accuser, by reason of the difficulty of disproving a story, even the most *improbable* one, at such a distance of time: and the very *delaying* the Charge, which ought to render it very suspicious, was at the same time the most likely means to gain it more credit.

But it happens that Bp. *Atterbury* has disappointed the expectation of his adversary. He liv'd to publish a Vindication of himself, and the other Parties concern'd; and, tho' he died soon after, yet I am perswaded he had *outliv'd* the belief of such an idle improbable story. His testimony is full and decisive, as to  
his

his *own personal* concern; and he asserts the innocency of his intimate friend and successor, Dean *Smalldridge*. And all, that were conversant with those persons about thirty years ago, and knew any thing of conducting the work at the *Oxford-Prefs*, know also how highly improbable it was for either of them, (as well on account of their necessary avocations, and full employment on their hands in their respective Stations, as some other special reasons, which might be assign'd) in their circumstances of life, at that time, to be any way concern'd in the carrying on this imposture.

The other Party, Dean *Aldrich*, was confessedly employ'd in revising the *MS*; and conducting the Edition of the History in the *Oxford-Prefs*. But surely there is need of a much stronger proof, than a mere assertion to induce any one to believe *him* guilty of an action, so inconsistent with his known character and reputation for uncommon candor, moderation, and integrity: and in particular, that he should be guilty of it in the *manner* alledg'd, needs a very weighty and extraordinary proof, a proof of his *infatuation*, as well as *iniquity*. For what less can it be thought, that this ingenious, learned, and judicious man, Governor of the most considerable College, intrusted with a  
 most

most important secret, without any apparent reason, should betray it to a *Young* man under his Government, and moreover to employ *Him* in carrying on a notorious fraud? a person, not endear'd to him by private friendship, or good behaviour, or Party interest, or any other account; but on the contrary, the most unlikely person to be concern'd in such a plot or any other affair, in which the reputation of his Governor was affected. --- Cou'd Dean *Aldrich* do this? --- if he cou'd, let him bear the imputation of being a *fool*, as well as a *knave*, an imputation incredible to all that were ever acquainted with his Person or Character! So that, with regard to the *first* article of enquiry, the charge either of malice or ignorance will be retorted upon the *Accuser*, who appears to have directed his accusation against *two* Persons entirely *unconcern'd* in the matter, and the *third* so *incapable* of being concern'd, especially in the *manner* alledg'd, that, what is asserted of him, can never be credited without doing violence to the common rules of moral Evidence.

With regard to the *second* particular, viz. the *time* when this suppos'd discovery was first made --- this was in *June* 1710, above *seven* years after the commission of the fact. Now, that

that so many years shou'd pass without any discovery, when people were forward enough to cavil and take advantage of every circumstance which might tend to discredit the History --- when so *many* persons were concern'd in the Management of the imposture, --- and when, besides them, Lord *Clarendon's* family, and many others, who had perus'd the *MS.* must have been let into the secret, ---- that such a fraud for so long a time shou'd be conceal'd --- these are considerations sufficient to stagger our belief, and come attended with difficulties, which cannot be clear'd up or accounted for.

But the degrees of improbability still rise *higher*, when we consider the *Person*, suppos'd to have made the first discovery, or the *Person* to *whom* it was made, Mr. *Edm. Smith* of *Oxford*, Author of *Phædra and Hippolytus*, a tragedy, and *George Duckett* Esquire, a Gentleman of distinction, both for merit and *Quality*.

The Reader will excuse me if in the present case I mention some particulars concerning Mr. *Smith*, which Bp. *Atterbury* thro' great tenderness and candor omitted. A pompous Account of his Life written by Mr. *Oldisworth* is prefix'd to the tragedy of *Phædra and Hippolytus*

*polytus* --- by which we see what fine things one man of parts can say of another: I am far from disparaging those excellent talents, which are so deservedly prais'd; I wish they had been employ'd to better purposes. His character is still fresh in the memory of his contemporaries and companions in *Oxford*: and perhaps 'tis as needless to inform any in that place that he was an immoral man in some points, as it would be to inform the world that he was an ingenious Writer. He was, and is still commonly known by the name of Captain *Rag*, distinguish'd by a circumstance, which does no credit to his character, inasmuch as the affectation of a rakish slovenly appearance in dress, implies a contempt of decency --- at the same time, the gaiety of his Wit, and some good social qualities render'd him much care's'd by all the boon Companions; he cou'd not well act in secret, or live unknown, or play the part of an Hypocrite; he seldom dissembled his own vices; and even intemperance must have often made him sincere. They, who knew him most intimately, believe it scarce possible for him to be at all concern'd in the affair; being perswaded from many occurrences that he never saw the History before the publication; and that he is grossly

grossly abus'd by this representation of the story; at least he cou'd not but know that it was not less impossible for Dean *Atterbury* to have any hand in the affair, than it was for him to be employ'd by Dean *Aldrich*. For was he in any degree of confidence with Dean *Aldrich*? So far from it, that no notice appears to have been taken of him but such as was to his discredit. His repeated irregularities provok'd the censures of his mild Governor. Indeed in the latter part of the year 1703, it was remark'd as something very singular in his behaviour that he shew'd an occasional conformity to his College-rules, which by way of ridicule he call'd *whitening* himself; but this appearance of regularity lasted but for a little while, as it sprung from an aukard ambition, the hope of obtaining the Censorship of the College. But in the election of College-Officers he was reject'd with shame; He was universally judg'd unworthy to preside over the behaviour of others, who himself gave so scandalous an example. And Mr. *Foulkes*, his junior was nominated to that office Dec. 24. 1703.

These are facts well known by his contemporaries in *Oxford*; and some of the most notorious ones actually now stand upon record.



cord<sup>a</sup>. And it is to be remark'd, that Mr. *Smith*, especially since he was disappointed of the Censorship in his return made reprisals upon the *Dean*, and frequently abus'd his wit in vilifying and ridiculing the man, by whom he thought himself injur'd. As for the Correspondence that pass'd between them, it was not that of *friends* such as is ridiculously suppos'd by Mr. *Oldmixon*<sup>b</sup>, but rather such as passes between *Judge* and *Criminal*. Is it then morally possible, that the *Dean* shou'd make a *Confidant* of a Man distinguish'd by the marks of his *displeasure*? Cou'd he leave his reputation at the mercy of a man, who delighted to *expose* him? or cou'd Mr. *Smith*, thus exasperated and prompted to revenge, conceal this

<sup>a</sup> Dec. 24. 1694.

Ds. *Smith* was admonish'd for habitual irregularities in Order to his Expulsion.

Apr. 24. 1700.

The *Dean* and *Chapter* declar'd the Place of Mr. *Smith* void, he having been convicted of riotous Misbehaviour in the House of Mr. *Cole* an Apothecary; but it was referr'd to the *Dean* when, and upon what Occasion, that Sentence should be put in Execution.

Dec. 20. 1705.

At the Instance of all the *Canons* the Sentence of Expulsion against Mr. *Smith* declar'd Apr. 24. 1700, was put in Execution.

<sup>b</sup> Rep. to Bp. *Asterb.* p. 15.

impor-

important secret for so long a time, without any apparent reason of such secrecy; and under the strongest temptations to make the discovery? --- for it may be here observ'd that with regard to *Party* interest, he was far from being attach'd to *that* Cause, for the support of which we are told this history was publish'd: he rather bore a denomination *different* from that of his Governor, and was rather inclin'd to the *opposite* Party, by whom he was most caref'd. So that, if *personal prejudices* or *Party-regards* have any influence in such cases, he wou'd surely have enjoy'd the opportunity of exposing the Man, whom he hated, and have triumph'd in a discovery so meritorious in the Eyes of Mr. *Ducket* and his friends.

Let us then draw these particulars into one point of view, that we may the better judge of the consistency or inconsistency of Mr. *Smith's* evidence. He is then suppos'd to have artfully conceal'd for the space of *seven years*, what he was prompted both by inclination, and interest to divulge *very soon* --- to be entrusted with a curious secret, and the management of a cheat by the *Man*, with whom it was morally impossible he shou'd be any way at all concern'd --- in short, to have made a *discovery*

of an affair, of which he has prov'd himself entirely *ignorant*.

But further, the improbability of the charge will still more fully appear from the consideration of the next article of enquiry, which respects the *Person of distinction both for merit and Quality*, to whom the suppos'd discovery was first made by Mr. *Smith*. This without contradiction is allow'd to be *George Ducket Esq;*, lately one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer. The death of this Gentleman, which has happen'd since the first drawing up of these papers, has prevented a personal address which was intended: yet the present case requires that something shou'd be mention'd of him. And, if the voice of common fame or Hearsay-testimony be admitted, I may venture to say, that he was as zealous to promote the interest of *his* party, as he cou'd suppose the three successive Deans to be in any *opposite* Scheme; and had as strong motives to *invent* the whole Story, as they had to attempt the *contrivance* of a fraud so dangerous and difficult in the execution. Be this as it will, yet in contradiction to what is asserted by Mr. *Oldmixon*, 'tis certain and evident, that this worthy Gentleman, who did communicate to him the discovery, was *never* ready to *attest* the truth,

truth, and defend the assertions in his Letter. Neither Bp. *Atterbury's* publick Vindication, neither private application of friends, nor Mr. *Oldmixon's* importunity cou'd provoke or persuade him to do this Act of Justice. We are not here indeed told of any *death-bed* repentance and Confession; but he has been thoroughly convicted of the falsehood of this report, which he dar'd not to defend, and was asham'd to retract. The imputation of disingenuity and cowardice will rest on his memory, of having misrepresented the dead, and impos'd on the Living; while he enjoy'd the base pleasure of doing mischief in disguise, without either avowing or retracting his assertions. --- But reflexions of this kind I leave to the angry, and disappointed Mr. *John Oldmixon*.

But further, the singular *manner*, in which this Gentleman was convinc'd into the sudden belief of a Story so improbable, in the next place demands our animadversion. The bare *assertion* of Mr. *Smith*, and the sight of a printed Copy, *scor'd* and *underlin'd* in many places, produc'd this marvellous effect. To receive conviction from *such* evidence, and so *suddenly*, shews a strong leaven of prejudice and credulity. And, where there is such a weakness of judgment, who wou'd expect such an Amazing

mazing instance of *taciturnity*? He, who hastily believes any tale, is apt as hastily to make the discovery: he is the most unlikely man to keep a secret; especially when interest prompts him to divulge it. Here then is this Mystery of iniquity! this Gentleman, so far from being a friend to Lord *Clarendon's* history, or the *Oxford* Editors, that he was rather inclin'd to bring both into discredit, conceal'd this important Secret for the space of about twenty years --- is this morally possible? ---

Let us now hear what Mr. *Oldmixon* says on this point in his reply to Bp. *Atterbury*, p. 8, he tells us that the "Gentleman, who gave the information, thought not of it, till he had read the Preface to *Clarendon* and *Whitlock* compar'd; that very Gentleman, who, by Mr. *Smith's* direction, had gone a great way in distinguishing the genuine from the alter'd passages, which took up near one hundred sheets of paper, and are forth-coming" p. 14. Moreover the *manner*, in which the discovery was publish'd, renders the whole story very questionable and suspicious. For how came it into the world? not with the undisguis'd plainness and openness of an avow'd truth, supported by the authority of any known voucher, but rather with an air of secrecy and  
guilt,

guilt, like some mischievous *calumny*, which shuns the light, being communicated as it were by *the by* in a letter, pretended to be written by an *anonymous* Correspondent. Can we imagine such a proceeding to spring from the generous motive of *undeceiving* the world in a point, wherein they all along had been scandalously impos'd upon? were this so, the worthy gentleman wou'd not be asham'd to justify his representation by the authority of his name. But he seems influenc'd by *other* motives, abusing the privilege of his concealment and security to the doing mischief more effectually, and enjoying in secret the presum'd success of the slander, which he had taken sufficient care to divulge, by communicating it to *Such* a Correspondent; who now comes under consideration in the next article of enquiry, viz. *Who* was the *Publisher* of this discovery?

Be it known then, that this is the Author of the *secret history of Europe* --- the Author of *Whitlock and Clarendon compar'd* --- the Author of the *history of the Stuarts* -- the Author of several nameless tracts, and pamphlets too numerous to be here recited --- the undaunted Mr. *J. Oldmixon*; in the recital of these titles he has recorded his own praises: and from hence the  
 Reader

Reader may judge of the Candor of this Critick, and the veracity of this Historian.

Perhaps some persons, being thus inform'd, may be apt to stop short in their enquiries, and contemptuously disregard such a report, as coming from a credulous deluded tale-bearer; and indeed his example might be alledg'd to justify this kind of treatment. -- But, besides that there needs some better warrant than his behaviour to authorize such a proceeding, it must be observ'd, that an assertion of a matter of *fact* demands an impartial examination, and has a right to be fairly confuted. I shall therefore proceed to a brief and distinct consideration of the evidence, by which the charge is supported, with some remarks on the several material circumstances.

The *Oxford* Editors are accus'd of *interpolating*, of making *additions* and *alterations* in Lord *Clarendon's* history of the Rebellion. How then is the charge prov'd? --- first by an *hearsay* evidence from a *person superior to all Suspicion*, and *too illustrious to be nam'd without leave*, secondly, by an *appeal* to a *certain honourable person* --- thirdly, by an *appeal* to a *certain Rev. Doctor then living* --- fourthly, by an *appeal* to a *Gentleman of distinction both for merit and quality*.

Concern-

Concerning this sort of Evidence it must be in general observ'd, that *some-body indeterminate* in this case is to all intents and purposes the same as *no-body*. The authority of the assertion depends upon the *character* of the assertors. Where these are *unknown*, there can be no judging of the former. An Argument, which might convince Mr. *Oldmixon* might well be thought trifling by a *better* reasoner: We are all this while in a state of uncertainty, disputing in the dark: the Respondent is under a difficulty how to form a proper Answer to his unknown Objector. But, on the other hand, we may truly say that the Opponent has prov'd *nothing*; and, by concealing his *Person*, has conceal'd the *force* of his Argument. In the mean while Mr. *Oldmixon's* bare assertion must not pass for a *proof*: we must call upon him to produce his Vouchers or to retract his allegations.

But now what says the *first Evidence*? Why, "this illustrious Person inform'd Mr. *Oldmixon*, "(and he thinks well inform'd him) that the "characters of the Kings, whose reigns are "written, were different from what they appear to be in the *Oxford* history, and his "Copy, Mr. *Echard's*." Now perhaps Mr. *Oldmixon* has been too hasty in apprehending the  
mean-



meaning of these words, and so, has misrepresented this *illustrious Person*. The characters &c. were *different* &c. *how?* in the opinion of this illustrious person they were different from what they *ought* to be; so that this objection affects the *justness* and *impartiality* of the History, and not it's *genuineness*. --- But, if they must be taken in Mr. *Oldmixon's* sense, I demand to know what can be inferr'd from *such* premises? --- Nothing, but what is built upon a prior supposition, viz. that *all* informations receiv'd from *such* persons are necessarily true. But, what if this Person has *mismform'd* him? or what if some other *illustrious* Person cou'd inform him of the *contrary*? In either of these cases, which are not imaginary, but real ones, the allegation is disprov'd.

Let us now proceed to the *second Evidence* — a certain *honourable Person* — what does he assert? it seems, he is to determine “whether there is not to his knowledge such an history in MS. still extant.” By MS. he must understand that which is *interpolated*; if any *other* be meant, the Appeal is quite impertinent. Now if *this* be still extant to his knowledge, the Gentleman wou'd do well to clear up this point, and direct us to the means of conviction: in the mean time, till we are favour'd with

with

with such singular intelligence, we must dismiss this allegation as asserting — just nothing.

But what does the *third Evidence* alledge? “This Rev. Doctor, now living, is to tell him “if he did not see the *Oxford Copy*, by which “the Book was printed, alter’d, and interpolated while it was in the Press.” If there be any assertion contain’d in this Appeal, it is indeed a *round* one, viz. that there is a living *Eye-witness* of the fact here charg’d — and he is not to be nam’d — so very scrupulous and tender a Writer is Mr. *Oldmixon*, he who (p. 8.) assures us “that no consideration of danger “from *Scandalum Magnatum* shou’d hinder him “from discovering the fraud, had he been inform’d of it.” — Or is the Rev. *Doctor* too *illustrious* to be nam’d without leave? Let me then inform Mr. *John Oldmixon*, that another Rev. Dr. *Thomas Terry*, Canon of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, now living, who was Corrector of the Press to the first Edition of this History, will

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a In my preface I have advertis’d the Reader, that as a large extract from these Papers was publish’d about 12 years ago in the *Weekly Miscellany*, in which some appeals and addresses were made to the persons then living, (but who are since dead) I now republish the same without making alteration in that respect, leaving him to make allowance for this circumstance: and this remark he is here desir’d to apply to other cases of like kind.

assert

assert the contradictory proposition, viz. that it was *not* alter'd or interpolated while it was in the Press.

I come now to the *fourth Evidence*, the *Gentleman of distinction both for merit and quality*. As his name was conceal'd, his veracity was in less danger of being call'd in question. But from many circumstances it plainly appears that he is the *same* person, who wrote the Anonymous Letter of discovery. I shall therefore consider the contents of *this Letter*, as the *whole Evidence*, esteeming whatever we find besides, as a mere *gratis dictum*, or as an unwarrantable gloss and comment of his Correspondent.

“This Gentleman then asserts that Mr. *Edmund Smith*, June 1710, made him a visit at  
 “. . . . and staid there till he died about six  
 “weeks after: that he frankly told him that  
 “the History publish'd under *Clarendon's* name  
 “was only Patch-work, and might as properly  
 “be call'd the history of *Aldrich*, *Smalldridge*,  
 “and *Atterbury*; for to his knowledge it was  
 “alter'd; nay, that he himself was employ'd  
 “by them to interpolate, and alter the Original — that he wou'd convince him of the

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<sup>a</sup> See *Appendix* — Dr. *Terry's* testimony recited by Dr. *G. Clarke*,  
 “truth

“truth of his assertions by the printed Copy.  
 “He then turn’d to the character of *Hambden*,  
 “and declar’d that these expressions, *he had a*  
 “*head to contrive, a heart to conceive, and a hand*  
 “*to execute any villany*, were foisted in by the  
 “Reverends — that he not only underlin’d *this*  
 “passage, as a Forgery, but gave the same re-  
 “mark to a hundred more.”

This Evidence is indeed of a *different* kind  
 from the *former* ; here is a story, with it’s par-  
 ticular circumstances, related, and the *Author*  
 of it expressly *nam’d* : We have here a direct  
 assertion of Mr. *Smith*, that the history was *al-*  
*ter’d* — his confession, — that he himself was  
 employ’d as an instrument by the Conductors  
 of the Forgery — moreover we have the *proof*  
 before us, by which the Letter-writer was con-  
 vinc’d of the truth of his assertion, viz. ano-  
 ther assertion, that a very remarkable passage  
 was in particular foisted in by them, which,  
 with many others of like nature, he distin-  
 guish’d by *underlining* them.

This *hearsay* testimony, thus reported twen-  
 ty years after the death of it’s Author, is the  
 foundation of this most hainous charge. The  
 only certain voucher is this *anonymous* Letter.  
 The Writer of it is indeed well-known ; it’s  
 evidence has been admitted, and in part con-  
 sidered.

sidered. It was Mr. *Ducket's* business to have appear'd in it's defence, or to have retracted it. But, by doing neither of these, he has deserted his Cause, and his friend, and invalidated his own evidence.

As to what we meet with *besides* this, mention'd by Mr. *Oldmixon*, in his Preface or Body of his history, for this *he* is personably answerable; these assertions must be reckon'd merely *his own* till he is pleas'd to produce his *vouchers*. He cannot infer them from the *Letter*; if he does, there will be more found in the conclusion than in the premises. He indeed seems somewhat aware of this inconvenience; and accordingly in his Preface, where he recites the *Letter*, he immediately subjoins, that "tho' this information differ'd a little from his former, mention'd in the Body of his Book, yet "in the main it confirms it." Both informations are presum'd to come from the same Person, whether mediately or immediately, by word of mouth or *Letter*, the Prefacer best knows. But this I do aver, that the *Letter* will not justify or confirm the assertions laid down in the former. At first sight there appears a material difference between them. And, if that *Gentleman of worth and honour* did in his *former* information embellish his story

ry with such extraordinary circumstances, as are here represented by Mr. *Oldmixon*, I must observe that in this *Letter* he has in no wise avow'd them. He mentions indeed Mr. *Smith's* *scoring* or *underlining* several passages: but what is to be inferr'd from hence? — every *offensive* or every *excellent* passage might equally be distinguish'd by *this* mark: and who cou'd with certainty distinguish Mr. *Smith's* hand in this operation from any *other*? But Mr. *Oldmixon* (such is his Critical sagacity) does not distinguish between merely *scoring* or *underlining*, and *interlining* or *interpolating* the text, he confounds these ideas, and then proceeds upon this blunder to heighten the accusation. Accordingly in the next breath, he says, “these *alterations* with Mr. *Smith's* own hand are to “be seen by any one that knows it.” Again, (not to mention some circumstances which he seems to have added by way of decoration to his improbable story) the Letter-writer simply and plainly mentions Mr. *Smith* continuing at his house till he died, about six weeks after: But Mr. *Oldmixon* largely improves upon the fact, and roundly asserts his *death-bed repentance*, his *confession* of the *forgery* and *remorse* express'd in his *last words* to the *Gentleman* in *whose house he died*. These are circumstances  
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of Solemnity artfully superadded to gain credit to Mr. *Smith's* evidence. By *these* the *Amsterdam* Journalist was chiefly induc'd to pay any regard to the story. And *these* are much insisted on by a <sup>a</sup> *small* writer, as being of the greatest weight to counterbalance Bp. *Atterbury's* assertions. Circumstances so serviceable to the present purpose, if they had really any foundation, wou'd never have been omitted by this very officious communicative *Letter-writer*. I shall therefore, till some proof appears to the contrary, consider them as invented by Mr. *Oldmixon* to serve a present turn; especially, since I have been inform'd by some of Mr. *Smith's* friends, that his death was *sudden* and unexpected; occasion'd by a quadruple potion of Physick taken by mistake, which purging him violently carried him off in the space of a day or two. His *death-bed* confession therefore appears less probable, as he was not *apprehensive* of his danger. Moreover I have heard that his death happen'd in the *absence* of Mr. *Ducket*. But on this circumstance, and others of like kind it wou'd be needless to insist, while we proceed by *plain* and *direct* proof to shew the falsehood of the Allegation, with

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<sup>a</sup> Free Briton.

regard to the particular clause in the Character of Mr. *Hambden*.

In the first place then it is to be observ'd that this interpolated clause contains in it a *mistake*; not indeed a very material one, yet such as wou'd much more probably be committed by the *Historian himself*, in the course of so long a work attending more to the propriety of the Application than exactness in the citation, than by Mr. *Smith*, or the *Reverend interpolators*, who are suppos'd to have *deliberately* foisted them in. If Mr. *Ducket* cou'd <sup>a</sup> err in citing the words of the Historian, which for a special reason he was concern'd to quote exactly, I hope the same allowance may be made for a slight mistake of *Lord Clarendon* in a point of little moment. 'Tis very easy to conceive, that our noble Author, citing *ex memoria* a passage from a Classical Writer, to illustrate his sentiment of the Person whom he characteris'd, might remember the *notion*, and at the same time forget the *name* of the Person, to whom it was applied. And indeed, as he did not publish his own work, he may be suppos'd to be less nice and accurate about such circumstances. And

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<sup>a</sup> Bishop *Asterbury's* remark.



on this foot we may account for several inaccuracies of like kind, which, upon a more exact view, which the *publication* of his work requir'd, himself doubtless wou'd have discover'd and rectified. But it is highly improbable that this mistake was committed by the suppos'd *interpolators*: they were persons remarkably conversant in Classical learning: they, as they attended to one point of view, supervising one anothers performances, cou'd not well be guilty of such an inaccuracy as to mistake *Cinna* for *Cataline*: For the words, of which the interpolated clause is a paraphrase, occur in *Tully's* third oration against *Cataline*: where he thus describes that Rebel, *Erat illi consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat*. Now what a pity is it but that our profound Critick had a stock of Classical reading equal to his sagacity? Had he been as conversant in *Tully's* orations, as he appears to be with the modern arts of slander and secret history, how greedily wou'd he have embrac'd the occasion of exposing such a palpable blunder in the Historian, whom he labour'd to discredit; perhaps such a triumph over Lord *Clarendon's* Ignorance might have diverted his busy wit from the invidious and dangerous accusation of his *Editors*.

But

But *secondly*, as it was *improbable* that they shou'd either industriously or ignorantly insert a blunder, so it is moreover certain that in fact they *did not*: for this very controverted clause, is now to be seen in Lord *Clarendon's* own hand-writing, in a smaller work containing the *history of his Life*, and from which he transcrib'd the most considerable part into his *History of the Rebellion*. He there gives Mr. *Hambden's* character in these words, "He had  
 "a heade to contrive, a tounge to perswade,  
 "and a hand to execute any mischieve: and his  
 "death appear'd to be a greate deliverance to  
 "the Nation." 'Tis further observable that the Latin words from *Tully* are cited here, and applied to Mr. *Hambden* with this paraphrase of them, without mentioning the name of *Cinna*, as in the printed Edition p. 226. <sup>a</sup>

But *thirdly*, what is still more directly to the purpose, I must inform the Reader that contrary to the expectation of the Objectors, it happens that there are still extant some

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<sup>a</sup> A Sheet or two of this MS. in which the passage above-cited occurs, was some time ago exposed to publick view for the satisfaction of any curious Enquirer, in the *Bodleian* Library, during the space of one year. This I have perused, and from thence transcribed the words.

Parts, and as I am inform'd, the seven first Books of this History of the Rebellion, written by the *Earl's own hand*, in which this controverted clause is contain'd: Mr. *Hambden's* character is *there* given in the very *same* words, which appear in the *printed* history. This MS is at present in the possession of Mr. *Radcliffe* of *Bartlet's buildings* in *Holbourn*, who was one of the Executors of the last <sup>a</sup> *Earl of Clarendon*. To this the importunate enquirer is referr'd for the satisfaction of his Curiosity. Many Persons of distinction have been favour'd with the sight of it; among whom I have heard mention'd the Lord Chancellor *King*, the *Speaker* of the house of Commons, Dr. *George Clarke* &c.

These are *direct plain* proofs of the genuineness of the controverted passage, and carry an irrefragable confutation of the falsehood publish'd by Mr. *Oldmixon*. At this distance of time it might reasonably be expected that we might be destitute of any *such* kind of proof, and be confin'd to *probable* arguments, and *moral* evidences of the fact: and equitable Enquirers might be satisfied with these; but by Mr. *Oldmixon's* friends this wou'd never be thought sufficient: if then strict direct proof

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<sup>a</sup> Advertisement prefix'd to the last Edition of the History.

be demanded, we here shew them where it may be had. Men, who will disbelieve testimony, and cavil at argument, will now I hope be convinc'd by *ocular demonstration*.

And now methinks I have done something, for which Mr. *Oldmixon* has promis'd me his "sincere thanks, having set him right where "he was wrong." He has indeed prov'd that there is a forgery *somewhere*: but on *whom* will the imputation rest? not on the three Rev. Doctors, successively Deans of *Christ-Church*. This I have prov'd: let Mr. *Oldmixon* answer for *himself* and *Correspondent*. In the mean while, if I were to deal with him in his own way, and allow myself that liberty of conjecturing and surmising, which he on all occasions takes, from the circumstances attending the management of his Charge, I shou'd be led to suspect a design laid to blast the credit of Lord *Clarendon's* History; and that to this end these measures were previously concerted between the *Commissioner* and *Collector* of the Excise. I may venture at least to say that there appears far greater probability, that *these two* Gentlemen shou'd be concern'd in *this* scheme, than that the *three Deans* shou'd be guilty of the *forgery* laid to their charge. Let the following Circumstances then be consider'd,

der'd, and from thence we may collect what grounds there are for this suspicion.

The History of the Rebellion had in fact given much offence: it was irreconcilably opposite to Mr. *Oldmixon's* scheme: and therefore it's authority was at all hazards to be demolish'd: let us here remark the process: accordingly the first attempt was to cavil against the assertions, which could not fairly be disprovd: and therefore Mr. *Oldmixon* publish'd his *Critical history*; and then his *Clarendon* and *Whitlock compar'd*. — But still Lord *Clarendon's* credit subsisted, and triumph'd over this weak opposition. There then remain'd one compendious and decisive Scheme, viz to deny the *genuineness* of the *Oxford* Edition. This, by fixing the charge of forgery on the *Editors*, destroy'd the authority of the history, without entering upon an hazardous attack on the reputation of the noble *Author*. But, since this must of course appear very strange and surprizing, there shou'd be the shew of some *particular* proof brought to support the allegation. *Here* indeed lay the great difficulty — but on the other hand, circumstances were not wanting which might give some hope of success. The considerable *distance* of time allow'd room for *fiction*, and made it more difficult to  
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come at the means of *disproving*; and the very *boldness* of the Accusation, in a case not very plain, had a better chance to be admitted for *evidence*.

Under such encouragements as these we may suppose the attempt resolv'd on: in the next place it was easy to be imagin'd on *what* quarter Lord *Clarendon's* history was to be attack'd. It seems the sacred character of Mr. *Hambden* was vilified; the clause, containing such severe reflexions, *ought* to be expung'd; and accordingly was mark'd out for a palpable *interpolation*. For Mr. *Oldmixon*, by a lucky conjecture, happen'd to hit upon this blot with regard to Mr. *Hambden's* character, "twelve or thirteen years after Mr. *Smith's* death, as he tells us <sup>a</sup> p. 6. without ever having heard a Syllable of the practice that had been made upon it. 'Twas certain that "Coin so base and false cou'd only come from "a College mint." And accordingly the *Christ-Church* men, whom he had before suspected to have affix'd the *Title* to the Book, were thought the fittest persons to be pitch'd upon for the *Editors*, — and among them, the three successive *Deans*, as being the most considerable

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<sup>a</sup> Reply to Bp. *Arch.*

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men, were mark'd out for the *guilty* parties; — and the evidence of a most ingenious *Christ-Church* man must be presum'd to have great weight in such a case; — and this, by a lucky Accident, was offer'd — for the ingenious Mr. *Edmund Smith*, a gentleman, it seems, in great confidence with his Governor Dean *Aldrich*,<sup>a</sup> at least “so as to make a Song for him, or “take a glass with him, which they both lov'd, “and cou'd not well live in a College so long “together without such confidence at least as “this is” — this Gentleman, who must be let into the knowledge and management of all the secrets of the College, happen'd to live at Mr. *Ducket's* house about six weeks, where he died *June 1710*. What discoveries might not be made in the private conversation of such friends? — what evidence might not be alledg'd from a person dead about twenty years before? — what circumstances might not be afix'd to give an air of solemnity to the representation? — and all this might be done with *security*, while the Author of the report lay *conceal'd* and *unknown*. Such we may suppose to have been the *motives*, such the *methods* of conducting this design. Upon which I shall

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<sup>a</sup> Reply to Bp. *Aurb.* p 15.

only further remark, that the **Commissioner** and **Collector**, by representing **Mr. Smith** so very ignorant of the affair as not to know the Persons who really conducted the Edition, have in the event betray'd their *own* ignorance. For **Mr. Smith** could not but know that **Dr. Atterbury** and **Dr. Smalldridge**, who had then left *Oxford*, were in no wise concern'd in the affair. But **Mr. Oldmixon's** correspondent did not know this: however, by knowing the *Author of an excellent tragedy*, he thought he knew enough to serve his purpose. And thus, while he here introduces **Mr. Smith** asserting a fact, which must be contrary to his knowledge, he has eventually rais'd up an Evidence against himself, and sufficiently justified the Suspicion of a concerted fraud. — But, if this be not the case, and **Mr. Oldmixon** was no ways concern'd in any scheme of this kind, (as indeed he in his Reply to *Oxonienfis* very angrily disclaims the imputation) then the charge of forgery rests upon his friend, the *Gentleman of distinction and merit*, with regard to what is contain'd in the Anonymous Letter: for every *other* assertion **Mr. Oldmixon** himself stands chargeable; as well as for his credulity and folly in so hastily receiving and publishing to the World such an idle improbable story.

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I am sensible my reflexions on this head have unawares been drawn out into too great a length; and I have reason to beg the Reader's pardon for engaging his attention so long in the disquisition of so many minute particulars; especially since Bp. *Atterbury's* Vindication may be thought to have already sufficiently confuted the Calumny. Concerning this performance, which came out so unexpected, to the astonishment and confusion of his Accuser, we may remark in general, that it has had it's just effect, and given satisfaction to the publick. The *Amsterdam Journalist* has hereupon done the Bishop justice, and call'd upon his Accuser either to make good, or retract his allegations. But a Paper, coming from such an hand, written with such a spirit of superiority and force of Reason, with the good Manners of a Gentleman, as well as the Charity of a Christian, must of course provoke the censures and cavils of some people, who seem resolv'd to be displeas'd with every evidence brought to support the credit of Lord *Clarendon's* history. Accordingly this has given occasion to two notable performances, the one in the *Free Briton*, Dec. 9. 1731. modestly and properly enough entitled *Reflexions on Bp. Atterbury's Vindication*; and the

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the other, after long delays publish'd by that voluminous Pamphleteer, Mr. *J. Oldmixon*, very improperly call'd a *Reply*, since it is chiefly a tedious digression into other matters, and, instead of *confuting*, proves rather a *vindication* of Bp. *Atterbury*.

If either of these Papers contain'd any *new* Objections, or any *new* proof in support of the former allegations, I shou'd think myself oblig'd to enter into a distinct examination of them. But, since this is *not* the case, it may be sufficient to dismiss them both with these general remarks: that the *one* hath left the matter just as he *found* it; and the *other* has made it much *worse*. The former, without acquainting himself with the case, pleases himself with displaying his eloquence upon a new and curious subject, and amusing his Reader for one week with a plausible harangue; like some common Pleader, who is retain'd in several causes, and, without studying his Briefs, or examining the real merits of each cause, thinks himself oblig'd to talk off hand, and make no small noise for the satisfaction of his Client. And accordingly in this Dispute, which relates to a matter of *fact*, he deals in general assertions founded upon mere *possibilities*, and *precarious suppositions*; and offers only such general

neral exceptions and cavils against Bp. *Atterbury's* Testimony, as must, if admitted to have any weight, overthrow *all* evidence of this kind whatsoever.

As for the *latter*, he appears a disappointed, discontented Author, not insensible of his mistakes, but harden'd against Conviction; unable to make out any one point in dispute, yet resolv'd to write on, and, if I may be allow'd to use the words of a Satyrical Poet on this occasion,

*Plung'd for his sense, yet found no bottom  
there,*

*Then writ, and flounder'd on in mere des-  
pair.*

Hence that variety of inconsistencies, and contradictions, misrepresentations, blunders, idle gossiping stories, shifting the question in dispute, wrong conclusions, and noisy challenges, and such pitiful evasions, as plainly betray the weakness of the cause, as well as the distress and disingenuity of the Manager.

Concerning *both* these Writers 'tis further observable, that they are dispos'd to be very angry with the *Oxford* men, whom Mr. *Walsingham*, the more candid and ingenuous of the two, calls *Monks, Pedants, and Party Bigots*; they grow warm in the flow of their elo-

eloquence, clamorous in their expostulations, and importunate in their demands, "Gentlemen produce the MS. or all the world will think you guilty of the forgery. — What became of the original MS? Whence so much care to suppress the Original? — there was always a loud complaint — Bp. *Sprat* and Dean *Aldrich* were suspected of the foul imposture in the E. of *Rochester's* life time"? — These challenges, queries, and assertions, as far as they have the force of an Argument, are founded upon this presumption, viz. that the omission in the *Oxford* men to give that satisfaction to enquiries, which they might and ought, and which every one hereafter has a right to demand, implies a tacit confession of their *guilt*. Accordingly the *Oxford* Editors, by not *producing* the MS, and by not *answering* the objections, rais'd against the genuineness of the Edition, are indirectly prov'd guilty of what is laid to their charge.

It might be expected that something shou'd be offer'd in Answer to these noisy Objections. And the Answer is very short and plain, viz. that the *supposition*, upon which they are made, is entirely *false*. It is forsooth taken for granted that the *Oxford* men had the *revisal* and *possession* of the Original MS: but this was *not* the  
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the case: in fact they were no further concern'd than in the *Press-work*: They had indeed the *benefit* of the Copy, or the *profits* arising from the edition publish'd at their expence; but they never had *possession of the MS*, as will be hereafter more distinctly prov'd. Now what unreasonable men are the Objectors? they demand a thing *impossible*, and then forsooth are *angry*, because they are not *gratified* in such demands. If indeed they were *reasonable* enquirers into the truth of the fact, they wou'd depart contented with the only *true* answer which cou'd be given, and such, as they themselves must have *known* to be true, if they had any Candour or Patience in receiving information.

But we must beg leave to expostulate with the Objectors upon the present point — They are pleas'd to interpret the omission on our part to satisfy some people's complaints and suspicions, as a tacit confession of guilt. Here again they *beg* the question which they ought to *prove*: for where was the Accusation which render'd such a vindication *necessary*? At present we may say, with Bp. *Atterbury*, that it comes *too late*, unless better supported; and the very delay renders the whole management justly suspected. 'Tis to be observ'd, that in  
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general an Argument, drawn from the *silence* of a Party, has but an *uncertain precarious* force: and in the *present* case, to render it conclusive, the Objectors ought first to prove that their Objections were offer'd to the *publick*, so as not to *escape* the notice of the Party — that they were such as *deserv'd* his notice — that they were propos'd in proper *time* and *manner* — These circumstances are more especially necessary, when persons of *high* station and *honour* are the parties concern'd. Accordingly, in the present case, we may demand of them whether, *before* the late boasted discovery, any charge of this kind was ever *publish'd* to the world? and by *whom*? whether any appeal of this kind was ever made to the Noble *Editor*? — or to his Assistants, Bp. *Sprat* and Dean *Aldrich*? — or to the *Clarendon* family since? — and at a *time*, when the affair cou'd have been easily clear'd up — before any accident had destroy'd the means of conviction? — and in a proper *manner*, such as *deserv'd* a satisfactory Answer? And, with regard to the *University of Oxford*, or the *suppos'd* Editors — what allegations were ever publish'd to the world against *them*, so as to render a *publick* vindication necessary? The Objectors ought first to give us satisfaction in these points.

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In the mean time, 'till this is done, they ought not to interpret our silence in such circumstances, as a tacit Confession of *Guilt*. — But we find it is easy for sanguine men to fancy those notions, which prevail in the narrow circle of their Acquaintance, to be the *general* sense of the people; they add an air of dignity and importance to their private suspicions and conjectures, by imagining that they are become the *publick* concern. — 'Tis also easy to date the *time* of the suppos'd discovery as *far back* as is thought most serviceable to their purpose — and to affix such *circumstances*, as perhaps cannot be disprov'd at this distance of time by any man living. — They may thus deceive themselves, and impose upon the credulity of weak prejudic'd men. But He, who would overthrow the authority of a work, so worthy of the great name which it bears, publish'd by Persons of Eminence and Integrity, must bring some direct Proof and weighty Evidence to support the astonishing Charge of *Forgery*. Otherwise the Presumption will stand in favour of the reputed Author; but upon the Objector will redound the shame of being defeated in an ungenerous, base attempt.

But perhaps it may be still urg'd, that, tho' *this particular* slander of Mr. *Oldmixon* has been detected,

detected, and confuted, — tho' the Objections with regard to some *particular* controverted passage have been remov'd, yet still the World is not quite satisfied about the *genuineness* of the Edition — many *doubts* and *scruples* still subsist, which ought to be clear'd up — hereafter perhaps *other* objections may arise, and be manag'd with *better* success — and the very *calling* it in *question* is such a bold step, as cannot well be accounted for but upon a supposition that there were some *grounds* of suspicion.

In reply to what is here suggested it may be in general remark'd, that objections of such an *indirect*, *indeterminate* Nature, bare *presumptions* and *suppositions of possibilities*, do not affect the main point in the present debate which is a *matter of fact*: And with regard to what is expected from Us we perceive that it is a very difficult task to give satisfaction, where men are resolv'd to cavil, be the case never so clear. While there are *prejudic'd* men, dispos'd to be angry with this history, 'tis not to be expected, but that all manner of exceptions will be taken; doubts and scruples will be rais'd, and much weight will be given to every random Conjecture, bold surmise, and plausible objection; and every precarious *hearsay* testimony will be admitted as an Argument

E

suffi-



sufficient to justify their private Suspicions. But all this while nothing *certain* can be inferr'd from hence, — but a great *unwillingness* in some people to receive as authentick, what they are inclin'd to dislike: and as great a willingness to lay hold of any means, which may overthrow it's authority. And upon this footing, if our judgment is to be govern'd by caprice, I know not how the credit of any history can be maintain'd.

As for the *grounds* of such doubts and conjectures, as far as they have appear'd in *publick*, they have been consider'd and confuted: and when-ever any *new* objections appear, a proper Answer will not be wanting. In the mean time I will venture to say, that what we have hitherto seen has proceeded upon some *slander* or *mistake*, occasion'd by the ill design or ignorance of prejudiced men; and that there were really *no grounds* which cou'd justify the charge allerdg'd.

It may here be replied, if this was the case, how is it possible that so many people shou'd be led into such a wrong perswasion?

The Answering this objection gives me occasion to enquire into the *Grounds*, and trace out the *footsteps* and *progress* of this error, and from thence to point out the most *probable*

*bable* way of accounting for the proceeding.

It appears by *Queen Ann's* letter of Licence, prefix'd to the history, that it was printed at the *expence* of the Univerfity of *Oxford*; and that the fole right of the Copy was vefted in the Univerfity. And the TYPOTAPHEUM CLARENDONIANUM is a ftanding monument and proof, that they in fact enjoy'd the *profits* arifing from the publication. Dr. *Ayliffe*, in his hiftory of the Univerfity, among many other falfe reports, has alfo publifh'd *this*, viz. that the Copy was as a *Legacy* bequeath'd to them by the *E. of Clarendon himfelf*. And many have been mifled into the belief of this Story.

We have here before us the moft *probable* occafion of the miftakes about this affair. Here are certain *facts*: but from thefe *wrong* conclufions were drawn: Hafty men, impatient of further enquiries, were immediately led into that notion, which was pofitively afferted by Dr. *Ayliffe*; that the *MS itfelf* was given to the *Univerfity*; that, as they appear'd to be thus entitled to the *profits* arifing from the publication, they were alfo of courfe entrusted with the *cuftody* of the *MS*, and *management* of the Edition. Accordingly a notion prevail'd among many in the Univerfity, that the *MS* was fomewhere deposited in the *Bodleian Library*.

In purfuanee of this notion enquiries were often made, and a fight of it has been often demanded: and true it is, that no fatisfactory answer was to be obtain'd from *that* quarter. The Library-keepers, it feems, pretended to know nothing at all of the matter; and reffer'd them to the *Earl of Rochefter*, as the fitteft perfon to fatisfy them in this affair. Accordingly it happen'd that the Enquirers went off diffatisfied and offended at the difappointment; but, being ftill perfwaded that the MS muft be fomewhere in the Librarian's cuftody, began immediately to fufpect that there muft be fome *foul* play in the management of the Edition; and that there muft be fome *private reasons* for the not producing the MS. Sufpicions were foon multiplied, and differently fafhion'd and aggravated according to the different fagacity and prejudices of the Enquirer; and every circumftance took a peculiar turn in the application, and was improv'd to add an air of probability to the bold conjecture. I know that fuch notions as thefe did fometime prevail; and I own that, among other Young men in the Univerfity, I have liften'd to fuch ftories, and have been led to make fuch enquiries, and draw fuch conclufions. It was alfo reported and believ'd by  
many

many young people that the Preface and Dedications were written by Dr. *Delaune*; I know not upon what *grounds*, but that his name, as *Vice-Chancellor* of the University, is set to the *imprimatur* prefix'd to the two last Volumes; and that in the *Queen's Letter of Licence* He is mention'd, as representing in the name of the University the great expence of the Impression, and praying that the sole right of printing the Copy for the term of fourteen years might be vested in them. Many Persons, now living in the University, remember that this report met with credit among several of the Young Scholars. And indeed there was scarce any extravagant conjecture about the matter, but what has in it's turn been admitted by some Party or other. When I now look back upon the various and inconsistent stories, which have in their turns prevail'd, I find reason to be less surpriz'd at the belief of Mr. *Oldmixon's* tale: but at the same time I cannot but wonder at the weakness of men of sense, that they shou'd be drawn into such an hasty assent upon such insufficient grounds. I cannot pretend to recount all the odd surmises and conjectures form'd about this matter. They in different persons were perhaps as different as their complexions; and accordingly

ly *interpolations* might be thought as numerous, as were the passages with which they were *displeas'd*. 'Tis sufficient to my present purpose to remark that opinions, so various, absurd, and inconsistent, cannot well be accounted for, but on a supposition of a *total ignorance* of the true state of the affair; and by the event it appears that this was far from being generally known. Yet inquisitive Men, not willing to appear ignorant of the affair, took the liberty in such circumstances of framing different conjectures and surmises according to their several complexions. A fondness for Novelty and strong prejudices supplied the want of evidence, and struck out some notices best suited to their peculiar humour and caprice. But as often as Light has been let in upon this affair, all Cavils and Doubts have vanish'd, and have appear'd as groundless, as they were injurious: The propagators of them became ashamed of their mistakes, and wonder'd at their own credulity. Thus, to illustrate the point by a familiar instance, when disturbances are rais'd in the night by waggish or ill-designing Men, the whole Neighbourhood is alarm'd with the apprehension of unknown dangers; the darkness heightens the confusion; Numbers join in the  
noise,

noise, who know not the cause of the tumult; till at length Day-light coming on discovers the general Error; and then all Parties begin industriously to dissemble the shame of their causeless fears, and the share they bore in the common uproar.

I think I have pointed out the most *probable* occasion of the various conjectures, doubts, and blunders about this point: and I hope that what has been offer'd will be thought a sufficient answer to objections *hitherto* advanced, and may obviate and preclude others of like nature for the *future*. And,

Having thus clear'd my way, I proceed further, for the satisfaction of the reasonable Enquirer, to give a plain and brief Narrative of the whole affair, as far as by the most diligent search I have been able to come to the knowledge of it.

The Reader cannot but observe that, at such a distance of time, 'tis much more difficult to prove the Truth, than to confute the Falseness: and therefore such *presumptions* shou'd be readily admitted in our favour, which are allow'd in cases of like nature. Accordingly we might fairly plead that long and *quiet possession* of a point, liable to be disputed, carries with it a supposition of a good *Right* and *Title*. A litigious Adversary may indeed *dis-*  
*stress*

*strefs* the lawful Possessor; but a claim, standing upon no better foot than the *distrefs* of the Defendant, ought to be rejected with indignation. And with regard to the *nature* of the proof, an equitable Judge will not insist on a kind of evidence, which he knows it is impossible to produce; but will be guided by the best light, which the case under consideration admits; and accordingly, where *direct* proof cannot be had, the fairest *probability* must take place. Now I desire that the consideration of these circumstances may be applied to the present case. Above sixty years have now pass'd since the *writing*; and about thirty since the *publication* of this history. In such a space of time it might probably happen that all Parties, any way concern'd, might be *dead*; and that no *living* witness of the fact cou'd be produc'd. The Original MS, or other evidences, necessary on such occasion, might perhaps, *after* the publication of the Work, be *disregarded*, as of little use: or, if preserv'd as valuable, might thro' inadvertency be *mislaid*, or by some Accident might be *destroy'd*. I am sure the Supposition of such a loss in the present case has heighten'd the popular clamour, and added confidence to the Objectors. The Reader  
here

here cannot but observe the difficulty of bringing a *direct legal* proof of such a *distant* matter of fact; and that if such terms were always requir'd, few books wou'd be admitted for genuine: the consideration therefore of this difficulty will be thought an excuse for the imperfection of the Account which I here offer.

'Tis to be suppos'd that the E. of *Clarendon* was many years engag'd in compiling this history of the Rebellion. It appears from internal evidences that this work was begun in K. *Charles I.* time. For thus our Author begins his narration, "King *James* died leaving the "King that *now is* engag'd in a War with *Spain*: and at the opening of the 9th Book we learn, that the work was first undertaken with the "King's approbation, and by his encouragement;" and particularly that many important points were transmitted to the Author by "the King's immediate direction and order, "even after he was in the hands and power of "the Enemy, out of his own Memorials and "Journals.

In another place we are told not only *when*, but *where* this work was begun; and that was in the Isle of *Fersey*. "The Prince "of *Wales* was arriv'd from thence at *Paris* "by the 17th of *Aug.* 1646, as appears by his  
"Let-



“<sup>a</sup> Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the  
 “<sup>b</sup> Queen’s Letter to recall the Chancellor of  
 “the Exchequer from that Island, bears date  
 “about the middle of *May* 1648. so that he  
 “had here near one and twenty month’s lei-  
 “sure to employ in preparing his history.  
 “That his design was soon known, I argue  
 “from the Marquis of <sup>c</sup> *Ormond*’s letter to him  
 “of the 17<sup>th</sup> of *Aug.* 1646, in which he kindly  
 “invites him into *Ireland*, where he promises  
 “him he shou’d have what *retiredness* he pleas’d.  
 “However that were, upon the Lord *Capel*’s  
 “waiting upon the King at *Hampton Court* in  
 “1647, his <sup>d</sup> Majesty writes to the Chancellor  
 “thanking him for undertaking the work he  
 “was upon; and telling him that he might  
 “expect speedily to receive some contribution  
 “from him towards it”. &c. I transcribe these  
 paragraphs from the ingenious and judicious au-  
 thor of *Clarendon* and *Whitlock* farther compar’d

In the Epistle Dedicatory of his Answer to  
*Hobbes’s Leviathan*, written in his exile and in-  
 scrib’d to K. *Charles II*, he informs “the King,  
 “that this was a Work (for of *this* only he

<sup>a</sup> *Care’s* Collection, No. 473.

<sup>b</sup> *Clar.* v. 5. p. 131.

<sup>c</sup> *Care*, No. 468.

<sup>d</sup> *Clar.* p. 70.

“cou’d be understood to speak) at least recom-  
 “mended, if not enjoin’d to him by his blef-  
 “fed Father, and approv’d, and in some de-  
 “gree perus’d by his Majesty.” And the No-  
 ble Sons speak to the same purpose in their  
 preface to the first Vol. of his history. It ap-  
 pears that the Earl had finish’d this work as  
 far as he was able without “the supply of those  
 “memorials and records, which were fit to be  
 “enquir’d into,” before the date of this Epistle  
 Dedicatory from *Moulins* 1673.

I have had occasion to mention another  
 work of like kind, but smaller size, previous  
 to this history of the Rebellion: entitled the  
*History of his life*. This is dated from *Mont-  
 pelier*, in the second year of his banishment:  
 the account is carried down to the year 1645,  
 with the materials for the two following years  
 laid down, but not drawn up in form. In this  
 work are the principal characters of the great  
 men engag’d on both sides, and among these  
 that of Mr. *Hambden*, written in the Earl’s  
*own hand*.<sup>a</sup>

I beg leave to mention this work, inasmuch  
 as the subject-matter of it coincides with that,  
 which we have at present under consideration.

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<sup>a</sup> See Note p. 59.

As the Author was interested and employ'd in the management of publick affairs, and was always an accurate Observer of what pass'd, the history of *his* Life may in some measure contain the history of the *Times*; and accordingly this may in some measure be the history of the *Rebellion*; and probably so much of it, as relates to that subject, is transcrib'd into that larger work. And as I am inform'd, at the bottom of some pages, references are made to the pages of the *History of the Rebellion*, where the insertions were to be made. We have reason to value this MS: and the use of it has been seen in the present dispute, as it proves the genuineness of that controverted clause in the character of Mr. *Hambden*: and the like use may perhaps *again* be made of it, if hereafter any dispute of the like kind shou'd arise. 'Tis an allow'd method of settling such controversies, to compare an Author with *himself*, and bring the parallel passages into one point of view; so that, if one passage be *doubtfully* or *obscurely* express'd, the meaning of it may be interpreted and determin'd by those *other* passages, where he has express'd himself more *fully* and *clearly* on the same point. And, if a question be made whether such a particular assertion was agreeable to his sentiment, the  
point

point is made clear by producing parallel places, where the same notion is uniformly asserted.

This *internal* proof appears throughout the whole History of my Lord *Clarendon*. The *judicious* and *impartial* Reader must see that the *same* Author wrote the *Whole*; and that the *Whole* is perfectly agreeable to the Sentiments, the Conduct and Character of the *reputed* Author, as far as we know any thing of him from History or Tradition. This Uniformity is remarkably visible in relation to the controverted passage upon Mr. *Hambden*; for the Historian has given that Gentleman the very same character, tho' in other words, in many places, as the Reader may easily find by the direction of the Index. The several places were collected together, and inserted in the *COURANT*, a little while after Mr. *Oldmixon* published his Objections.

The history of the *Rebellion*, like other works of so great a length, must be supposed, before the finishing stroke, to have undergone various modifications, repeated alterations and frequent transcribings. It was written partly with the Earl's own hand, partly by several *Amanuenses*, occasionally and successively employ'd; and, as I have heard, among others, his Sons were assistant to him in this capacity.

The

The Work was at length compleated, and revis'd by the *Earl*, and then transcrib'd by his Secretary Mr. *Shaw*.

The *Earl*, dying soon afterwards, by his Will gave his two Sons jointly all his Papers of what kind soever. \* And accordingly

In the year 1685, the MS appears to have been in the hands of *Henry*, the *Earl's* eldest Son, then nominated *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*. In this year he left it to be perus'd by Arch-Bp. *Sancroft*, who gave him a note of his hand, acknowledging the receipt "of this MS, "entitled the *History of the Rebellion &c.* written it seems in the same hand, and consisting of about 92 quires (six sheets to the quire) "of about 2200 pages, withal obliging himself "and heirs &c. safely to deliver the said MS "to the said *Henry* or *Lawrence* his brother, "then *Lord High Treasurer of England*." We may observe here several minute circumstances, by which the MS. is describ'd, which might be of use to prove it's identity to those, who had seen it. We may further observe, that the *Title* of the MS. is the same with the printed Copy, and therefore proves the *falsehood* of the insinuation that it was affix'd by the *Christ-Church* men.

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\* See the *Earl's Will* in the Appendix.

It appears moreover from a *memorandum* at the foot of this note (which upon restoring the MS. to the Brothers was given back to him again) that the Arch-Bishop lent the MS. to be perus'd by Dr. *Turner*, Bp. of *Ely*. This note came into the hands of Dr. *Tanner*, Bp. of *St. Asaph*, by whom a transcript of it was communicated to me.

The MS. was also communicated to Sir *John Nicholas*. And sometime before the publication we find it was in the hands of Dr. *Sprat* Bp. of *Rochester*, and Dean of *Westminster*. Here it is to be remark'd, that, while it was in *his* hands, many *other* persons were successively admitted to the sight and perusal of it: for the Bishop us'd frequently to send for some of the upper *Kings-Scholars*, and employ'd them in reading over the MS. to him.

Mr. *Oldmixon* is pleas'd to reflect upon the levity of the Bishop in this instance as being so communicative "as to let so many, even "some of the Boys of *Westminster* School, see "it, or an authentick transcript of it;" and withal adds, "by the same token some of them "transcrib'd it again, by the command of their "Master, for the use of the Press, as the Lads "understood it." What use he can make of

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\* Reply to Bp. *Aurb.*

this discovery to serve *his* purpose I cannot see: But I can't help observing that this very circumstance, which he seems to ridicule, may be improved into an argument shewing the *improbability* of the supposition, that the Editors shou'd so soon venture upon the foul practices charg'd upon them. For these *Kings-Scholars* were far from being such inconsiderable persons, as he wou'd represent them. 'Tis well known they generally were persons of competent learning, acuteness, and age; well enough qualified to distinguish any remarkable interpolations or alterations, if any such were at *that* time made in the MS. or, if any were *afterward* made, when the work appear'd in print, they probably wou'd not have escap'd their observation. I have the happiness of being well acquainted with one Gentleman, a person of publick Character in our University, who among others then at school, has attend'd the Bp. of *Rocheſter* at his seat at *Bromley* in *Kent* on this occasion, and there read over to him a considerable part of the MS. — a Gentleman, not less distinguish'd by his reputation for probity, than unenvied eminence in his Faculty, whom even to hint at without due praise, to a grateful mind, wou'd be an exercise of self-denial.

Mr.

Mr. *Oldmixon* tells us "that the MS. was  
 "seen by a vast number of principal persons  
 "of the Party; and that K. *William's* Queen  
 "*Mary* had also the Curiosity, and saw it be-  
 "fore it pass'd thro' other hands." I know  
 not upon what authority he asserts these facts;  
 yet I am so far from denying his assertions,  
 that I think them highly probable. And I  
 make no doubt but that many Persons of ad-  
 vanc'd age and stations in life, may be able to  
 trace out the delivery of the MS. to several  
*other* considerable persons of those times; and,  
 in proportion to *this* circumstance, the con-  
 clusion, which I am about to draw, will re-  
 ceive additional force. For as this Work, thus  
 recommended by the great name of it's Au-  
 thor, might with good reason excite the cu-  
 riosity of the Learned and Ingenious, and, as  
 the Possessors of the MS. appear to have been  
 publick-spirited communicative Men, 'tis high-  
 ly probable that many *other* persons also were  
 favour'd with the perusal. And upon this sup-  
 position I infer, that it is highly *improbable*,  
 that, in so small a distance of time, the Edi-  
 tors, men remarkable for their good sense and  
 probity, wou'd presume to make *alterations* in  
 a work, which had been perus'd by so many  
 considerable persons; some of whom might be



then alive; and others, if dead, might have left behind them some extracts, preserv'd either in writing, or in the memory of their friends. Surely the reputation of their *sagacity*, if not their *honesty*, might have secur'd them from the unaccountable imputation of being engaged in a dishonest attempt, attended with apparent danger of a discovery.

It cannot be expected but that in a work on so nice a subject, of so great a length, and so many years in compiling, (as has been before remark'd) several parts, shou'd for the greater accuracy; be retouch'd, and transcrib'd over and over again, before they receiv'd the finishing stroke from the Earl's pen; and such *parts* of the History, written, either by the Earl's own hand, or by his *Amanuenses*, may haply be *preserv'd*, when the *compleat* Copy is *lost*. And this very probably is the case with regard to those *seven* MS. books of the History, now in the possession of Mr. *Radcliffe* of *Bartlet's buildings* in *Holbourn*.

So much or rather so little have I to say concerning the history of the MS. *before* the publication. As to the reason why this was so long *delay'd*, we find this couch'd in the preface — “viz. a tender regard to those *Persons*, whose *Ancestors* are found not to have  
“had

“had that part during their lives, which would have been more agreeable to the wishes of their surviving Posterity.” But even at this distance of time the noble Editors complain in the Dedication of the 2d Vol. that “Offence was taken by those Persons at some Particulars mention’d in this history concerning so near Relations, who would therefore have them pass for mistaken informations.” I must remark upon this circumstance, that it leads us into one of the chief reasons of the prejudice conceiv’d against this history, which by degrees so widely spread it’s infection, and upon different occasions has appear’d in such variety of shapes.

At length the two Brothers, according to the discretionary power given them by their Father’s Will, resolv’d to publish the MS. *Lawrence E. of Rochester* undertook the conduct of the affair: Accordingly the MS. was carefully revis’d; Bishop *Sprat* at first, and afterwards Dean *Aldrich*, assisted in this revival. A fair transcript was order’d to be made, and prepar’d for the Prefs. Bp. *Sprat*, being Dean of *Westminster*, employ’d in this affair Mr. *William Wogan*, *Kings-Scholar*, and captain of *Westminster* School: He wrote out for the prefs the four or five first Books. Mr. *Low* secre-

tary to the Bp. of *Rochester* succeeded him in this employment, and is suppos'd to have finished the Whole. The Copy was thus prepar'd for the Press. The University of *Oxford* undertook the expence of the Publication, and the benefit of the Copy was given unto them by the Earl. The small distance of the Earl's seat at *Cornbury* from *Oxford* gave easy and frequent opportunities of intercourse. Dean *Aldrich* often visited the Earl on this occasion; and the Earl came often to *Christchurch*: they two had the last revisal of every sheet before it was printed off.

With regard to the *Earl* — it was generally believ'd, and upon good grounds, that in conducting the whole affair he shew'd a scrupulous nicety, and a kind of superstitious exactness; refusing to admit many *reasonable* alterations propos'd by his assistants, such, as in no way affected the sense, but only serv'd to complete the elegance and propriety of the language. Some amendments it was necessary to admit, where there appear'd gross errors in the writing, false spellings, or some very exceptionable improprieties in the stile; but as for *other* kinds of alterations he refus'd to insert them, being of opinion that the intelligent Reader wou'd easily overlook those  
smaller

smaller defects in so excellent a Writer. Accordingly *such* blemishes are still to be found in the work; and this rigorous punctuality of the Earl was often in discourse alledg'd by his Assistants as the reason why they were not amended. Dr. *Clarke* has often heard this from his intimate friend Dean *Aldrich*: others have heard the same observation from Bp. *Sprat*. And indeed various testimonies from Persons then living in the University might be produc'd, which plainly shew that at that time they were so far from entertaining the surmise of *interpolations*, that they were rather apt to blame the over-strict nicety observ'd in the publication, which was well known to be so agreeable to the Earl's character.

As for the *other* Parties subordinately concern'd: — Mr. *Tho. Hearne* compil'd the *Index*: The nature of this employment did not lead him to the sight of any MS. at all. Dr. *Tho. Terry* then M. A. was employ'd by Dean *Aldrich*, as Corrector of the Press. The *Transcript*, from which the printed Copy was immediately taken, was the only MS. he had the sight of. He has assured me, and many other Persons, that in this there were *no alterations*, or *interpolations* — that the printed Copy was *faithfully* taken from *this* — that the MS. Copy was  
con-

continually given into his hands by small portions — that, as soon as a sheet was printed off fair, the MS. was immediately return'd to the E. of *Rocheſter*. That neither the *Original*, nor the *Transcript* written by Mr. *Wogan*, and Mr. *Low*, from which the history was immediately printed, were ever lodg'd in any *Oxford* Library, publick or private; but that they were all along in the cuſtody of the Noble Earl to whom they belong'd. This is a ſhort and plain account of the Edition at the *Oxford* Prefs.

If here it be ask'd, *which* is to be eſteem'd the true *Original* MS. Copy of this history, I answer, that which was written by Mr. *Shaw*, ſecretary to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and which was reviſ'd by the Earl himſelf, not long before he died. If it be demanded what is now become of *this* MS. I muſt fairly own that I do not certainly know. The *Clarendon* family, which has all along had the poſſeſſion of it, can give the beſt ſatiſfaction in this point. But, if I may be allow'd to ſay, that which upon good information I do believe to be true, this MS. together with many other valuable things, was deſtroy'd in the fire of the *E. of Rocheſter's* houſe at *New Park*, ſeveral years after the publication of the Book. In-  
deed

deed it were to be wish'd that it had been deposited in some publick place for security, and general satisfaction; and then all these cavils and calumnies had been prevented. But surely neither the University of *Oxford*, nor any other party had any right to demand this, and the Proprietors of the MS. never imagin'd there cou'd be any *occasion* for such a proceeding. But, be this as it will, I may venture in opposition to Mr. *Oldmixon* to assert, that the *Oxford* men are no ways affected by the charge of forgery or of secreting the MS.

If, in the next place, it be ask'd what is become of the MS. Copy from which the History was immediately printed, I answer, that *this* is still *extant*: that some long time ago I was inform'd it was always kept at *Cornbury* house in the Library there; and have been shown the Box, in which it was said to be kept. that it is at present <sup>a</sup> in the hands of *Dr. Clarke*, entrusted with him by the present *E. of Rochester* for the satisfaction of curious Enquirers; that all doubts about the agreement of the MS. with the printed Edition may be clear'd up by collating the two Copies.

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<sup>a</sup> See note p. 51.

But perhaps some men will not be convinc'd by *these* arguments, but will still object, and proceed to demand what assurance can be given of the *fidelity* of the *transcript*, or how it can be prov'd that the original was not *alter'd* and *interpolated*.

I cannot but observe here that the proof, demanded at this distance of time, is *such* a one, as in all probability cou'd not be produc'd; and they, who made such a demand, have good grounds to presume that it cou'd never be *answer'd*; — that, after thirty three years, there shou'd be any of the revisers or transcribers of the MS. alive, that there shou'd be any surviving witness of the fact, in which so few were concern'd, is to be esteem'd a very *fortunate* circumstance. But they, who presum'd on want of evidence in this respect, will unexpectedly find themselves disappointed. For it happens that there is a Gentleman living, who can, from his personal knowlege, (*and indeed hath<sup>a</sup> attested*) the genuineness of a considerable part of this history; a Gentleman, long conversant in publick business, of a well-known unblemish'd character, the very Person employ'd by Bp. *Sprat* in transcribing

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<sup>a</sup> See Append. Mr. *Wogan's* Deposition.

the Copy fair for the Prefs: His Evidence is full and clear, and direct to the point; it needs no Comment: I leave the Reader to apply the force of it.

And by this time I hope that what I have said on this subject will be thought sufficient to answer the most pertinent queries. It now appears *who* were the *Editors* of this History: Not the *Oxford* men, but those, who had the *property*, the *possession*, the *revisal* of the Original MS: — those, who put it to the *Oxford* Prefs; — those, who wrote the Preface and Dedications, and gave a Solemn assurance of their fidelity, — the *Sons* of the Noble Historian. If then there really were any *omissions* any *interpolations* &c. upon *whom* must the charge of forgery rest? Not upon the *Oxford* men, (as the Objectors wou'd have the World think) but on these very Editors, or to speak more strictly to the point, on *Lawrence E. of Rochester*, the principal party, more immediately concern'd in conducting the Edition at the *Oxford* Prefs; or, according to Mr. *Oldmixon's* interpretation, that worthy and noble Person is to be arraign'd as Criminal in chief, and *Bp. Sprat* and *Dean Aldrich*, as his Accomplices in the crime.

It seems then the Accusation is misplac'd,  
and



and brought against the wrong parties. It behoves the Accusers to account for this proceeding: 'Tis sufficient to my purpose to observe that they did this either thro' ignorance or ill design; they either were or were not acquainted with the state of this affair. If the latter, which is the more favourable supposition, be admitted, still their conduct cannot be justified: Where means of information can be procur'd, there ignorance is inexcusable; and their uncharitable censures, in consequence of such ignorance, are unpardonable. But, if these knowing men were acquainted with the state of the affair, and, contrary to their conviction, publish'd this falsehood to the World, hereby imposing on the ignorance and credulity of weak men in order to demolish the authority of an offensive work, they are surely guilty of a crime, not less heinous than that charg'd on the suppos'd Editors, of *corrupting the faith of History.*

I am sorry to find that Scandal against the University of *Oxford* shou'd be thought a fit topick for plausible popular harangues; — but so it was thought: And much art has been us'd to work up men's prejudices against *that place* in such a manner, as eventually to affect the  
the

the *credit* of the history. A bold attempt was made: the Objectors took an indecent liberty of disparaging what they were pleas'd to call the *Oxford* History. Under *this* notion it's authority was more safely attack'd: ill-natur'd aggravations were propagated and receiv'd with applause, and a late pretended discovery swell'd up the evidence, and completed the triumph.

But after all what is the event? the *Oxford* men, or the *suppos'd* Editors, stand acquitted; and of a sudden the high-swoln charge shrinks away from the fight: and the motly train of noisy Cavillers, sanguine Accusers, selfconceited Surmifers, and credulous Talebearers, after having made such bold advances, begin with shame to perceive their fundamental error, and with confusion draw off from the illconcerted charge. A general uneasiness and vexation follows the disappointment; while some perhaps resolve at all hazards to renew the attack; others go off quite disheartned without thoughts of any further attempt: and many think even success scarce worth gaining, unless it were thro' the *Oxford* quarter. But all join in one common point, to secure their retreat under the cover of the Dust which they had artfully rais'd,

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It is not my manner nor inclination to fight with shadows, or insult the dead: however, before I conclude, it may not be amiss to mention, what might in common *justice* be demanded of Mr. *Oldmixon*, as well as in virtue of his own magnificent *declarations*. He tells us in his Preface p. 15. that if he is deceiv'd "himself will own it, and sincerely thank those who shall set him right; he has no where erred willingly or knowingly, and in case it should so happen by misinformation or misunderstanding he would be so far from being ashamed of owning an error, that he should take a pride in it as doing service to Truth." But how little share he had of that ingenuity and generosity of which he makes such a specious profession he has fully shewn in his Reply to *Oxonienfis*, which I have printed in the Appendix. I should have call'd upon him to reconsider and retract what he has asserted with regard to the controverted clause, "that there is something so very base and false, that such coin could only come out of a College Mint." How *very base and false* is this imputation? the false Accuser stands convicted, it behoved him to sue for pardon, and give satisfaction for the injury. And further I must insist upon disfiguring the pompous  
*title*

*title* page by expunging that favourite clause, which was of use to make his book more saleable: "to which is prefix'd some Account of "the Liberties taken with the *Clarendon*-histo-  
 "ry before it came to the Press, such Liber-  
 "ties as make it doubtfull what part is *Claren-*  
 "*don's* and what not." What a specious pro-  
 mise of a wonderfull discovery is here made? and how has he disappointed and cheated his Reader, having by his great pains prov'd him-  
 self *ignorant* of the whole affair, yet resolv'd to improve the opportunity of propagating a malicious slander? I shall not pursue any farther reflections on this occasion, but shall only add that with regard to Those, by whom, upon Mr. *Oldmixon's* Authority, this slander has been greedily receiv'd and industriously propagated, (as in fact we see it has been by Mr. *Clark of Hull*, and withal aggravated by bitter reflexions on the University of *Oxford*) I hope by this time Those gentlemen are undeceiv'd, and, by the proofs offer'd, convinc'd of the *genuineness* of the *Oxford* Edition. I must now desire them to look back upon their proceedings, and consider upon what *insufficient* grounds they were betray'd into the belief of an improbable story. And I hope the result of their own experience will suggest to  
 them

them a lesson of *Caution* against prejudice and Credulity for the *future*, and moderate their censures of Persons, with whose characters they appear so little acquainted. The University of *Oxford* has on many occasions been misrepresented: many hard imputations, which have been receiv'd and for a while credited, have at length been found to be as groundless, as they were injurious. What *has* been, may probably be *again* the case: and therefore, if ever any idle stories of the like kind shou'd be rais'd, we have reason to hope they will not *again* find so easy credit. Compassion and Goodwill generally attend the Party injur'd; and some reparation is made by entertaining a more favourable opinion for the *future*. No good natur'd considerate man will hastily fall in with vulgar prejudices: but will find cause to *suspend* his belief in cases of this kind; and rather to think charitably, and speak candidly of that venerable Body, in whose prosperity all publick-spirited Persons will esteem themselves in some measure interested.

In the last place, tho' it is not properly the business of these Papers to enter into any offensive encomium 'either of the *Historian*, or or the *History* itself; yet, since the *credit* of both is involv'd in the dispute by those who  
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object against the *genuineness* of the Work, I hope the Reader will pardon me if I am led into the like digression; and take occasion to do justice to the character of the Noble Author.

He was confessedly a Person of great abilities, which dignified every station: in his *Political* capacity an able Statesman, of exemplary behaviour, at once a publick-spirited Patriot, and a Loyal Subject; — an experienc'd member of Parliament, long conversant in publick affairs; — and a learned Lawyer, one, who thoroughly studied and understood our Constitution, and who had the honour to preserve it in a critical juncture by the authority of his Counsels. It must be remember'd to his praise, that, at the Restoration of King *Charles* the II, when the violent men of different parties, for different reasons, were forward to complement the Prince with the sacrifice of their Liberties, *He* was the man who, (being then without a rival highest in the Royal favour) made that noble stand in behalf of the *People*, and preserv'd that *balance* of Rights and Powers, in which consists the distinguish'd happiness of our Constitution. I mention *this* circumstance as containing a reason, which may induce the Patrons of the  
*same*

*same* cause to reverence the memory of that Statesman, to whose wisdom and integrity they are indebted for the preservation of that *Liberty*, which they know not how to use.

With regard to the *qualifications* of an Historian both *moral* and *intellectual*, no one of that age seems to have possess'd them in an higher degree. At the same time I wou'd not be thought to exempt the performance or the writer from the imputation of human failings. The very best Historians have their imperfections and faults. Sometimes, thro' hasty information taken for granted, they are led into mistakes about *circumstances* of Persons and facts. Thus for example Arch-Bp. *Abbot* is represented in the I. book of this history as immediately translated from the Masterhip of *University* College to the Bishoprick of *Litchfield and Coventry* without ever having been possess'd of any Benefice, or Ecclesiastical dignity, whereas it was notorious that he was first made Dean of *Winchester*, in 1599. and continued in that station till 1609. But *this* and other mistakes of *like* kind, will be easily overlook'd, being of small importance, and such, as the noble Author, if he had liv'd to publish his own work, wou'd doubtless upon reconsideration have rectified.

Some-

Sometimes their account of transactions is *is defective*; and thro' want of intelligence or attention, they are guilty of *omissions* in points, which to some men's apprehensions seem very material. Accordingly some men complain of this History, as not doing *justice* to the memory of several loyal families: and that no *mention* at all is made of many worthy Persons, who ventur'd their lives and fortunes in his Majesties Service. Thus for example with regard to Colonel *Sandys* of *Ombersly* in *Worcestershire*, great-grandfather to the present *Ld. Sandys*, tho' he signaliz'd himself in the King's service, and maintain'd a Regiment at his own expence, yet we don't find so much as his *name* ever mention'd. And this reflection probably extends to the case of many *other* loyal families, whose names ought to be transmitted with honour to posterity. But what of all this? there seems more to be demanded than cou'd in reason be expected. Indeed, in a work, professedly design'd to give an historical account of the Bravery and sufferings of all the eminent Royalists; such an omission wou'd appear unpardonable; but in a *general* History the case is different: here it is easy to conceive that the Historian, amidst the vast variety of matter, attending



chiefly to the *main* lines and more *important* points, shou'd of course pass by in silence the proceedings of many *particular* persons, not thro' any *malignity* or *ill-design*, but either as not directly falling in his way, or perhaps not at all coming to his notice. *Such* defects therefore, in a work of this kind, as they seem not easily to be avoided, are on that account more readily to be excused,

There is *another* exception of a more *criminal* nature, to which they are sometimes liable; and that is, a *partial* and *unfavourable* representation of the actions of those with whom they *differ* in opinion and interest. I shall not here take notice of any Accusation brought by Mr. *Oldmixon*, or any of those prejudic'd men who are resolv'd to quarrel with every thing coming from Ld. *Clarendon*: but a complaint on this head from a very *different* quarter, from a Person of *high rank* and *eminent abilities* deserves a particular regard, and demands a satisfactory Answer. Our Historian is accus'd of *partiality*, of being *too passionate and interested* in a certain case by a Noble Lord, who at the same time does him justice so far as to say of him that his greatest Enemies " cou'd never deny but he was a man  
" of strict piety, virtue, knowledge and su-  
" pereminent

“pereminent talents.” His reflexion is confin’d to the single case of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, whose vindication he professedly undertakes against misrepresentations in which *he alone* finds this History in that respect so much to abound.

I might remark that there are *Family* attachments and partialities, as well as *party-regards*, and *personal* prejudices; and accordingly the noble Lord, who so warmly takes up a family quarrel, will not easily stand clear of that imputation, which he wou’d fix upon our Historian. It may further be observ’d that in cases of a *mixed* nature, actions variously circumstantiated, as they may be considered in different lights, are capable of being represented in a different manner: and accordingly Lord *Landsdown* might find reason to excuse, what Lord *Clarendon* might with reason blame. I can easily imagine two sets of men, the Gentlemen of the *long Robe* and those of the *Sword*, such as compos’d the Prince’s council in the *West*, both persons of probity and honour, equally zealous in the *same service*, and aiming at the *same End*, yet so much divided in their opinions about the choice of proper means, and at the same time so much interested in the support and

Vindication of their several measures, that the representations, which they severally give of transactions in which they were concern'd, appear in such different colours that one wou'd be apt to think they scarce came from persons engag'd in the same common Cause. Let any one but read the history of any unsuccessful expedition jointly undertaken by Land and Sea Officers with a limited and mixed command, and he will find less reason to wonder at the different accounts of the same proceedings, while every party at the same time he seems zealous for the *common interests*, is not less industrious to vindicate his *own character* by transferring to *others* the blame of the ill success. I mention these considerations, that in case Lord *Clarendon* was in the *wrong*, some allowances might be made for a common failing.

But in truth I dont find *reason* to make any apology for him in this respect; where he assures us that he cou'd answer for the truth of the principal things he mentions, being such as came under his immediate knowledge. And why then may not *his* representation of facts be credited as well as that of Lord *Lansdown*? — especially since the Reader will find upon a strict examination, that, what is asserted

serted by that Lord in his Vindication, does not *disprove* the principal matter which our Historian seems to have affirm'd upon good grounds. So, that, if he has in any particular instance disparaged, what the other might have highly embellish'd, yet on the whole I can't see what *injustice* he has done to the character of Sir *Richard Grenvil* — whom he allows to be *faithful* and *zealous* in the King's service, a *gallant* man, and a *thorough-bred* Souldier — and yet, consistently with that character, rigorous in military executions, rapacious in plundering, haughty in temper, and impatient of any rival or restraint in Command: and accordingly liable to give provocations, which at last occasion'd that hard usage of which he justly complain'd. The charge therefore brought against our *Historian* may with greater reason be retorted on his *Accuser*, that *He is too passionate and interested* in his family quarrel, and has in his reflexions done injustice to Lord *Clarendon*. And the use I wou'd make of the foregoing considerations is this, that, if the Reader shall find just reason to acquit our Historian in *this* particular charge so formally and warmly advanc'd against him by so considerable a Person as Lord *Lansdown*, he wou'd be inclin'd to extend the same favourable

voutable construction to *other* cases of *like kind*: especially, while he considers the invidious circumstances and unavoidable difficulties, under which an Historian labours who will speak with truth and freedom of Persons and things; so that it is scarce possible to represent the true character of any eminent men without giving *offence* to one Party or other. This particularly must be observ'd in favour in our Historian, that his *Station* in life gave him uncommon advantages, which he improv'd to the best purposes: he had *immediate* knowledge of most Things and Persons of whom he speaks; and he tells us B. 9. that other "important particulars, transacted in "places distant from him, were transmitted "to him by the King's immediate direction "and order, even after he was in the hands "and power of the Enemy, out of his own "memorials and journals". And with regard to his *integrity*, as far as a *disinterestedness* in the whole course of his behaviour is admitted for a proof, no one of those times comes better recommended to our approbation. So that in points, where he may happen to be *mistaken*, we have no reason to suspect him guilty of wilfull misrepresentations. And to sum up his moral character in a few words which

which carry in them the highest assurance of *veracity*, he was upon principle a *Christian*. Yet notwithstanding it is notorious that this great and good man met with very hard treatment: he was persecuted with private ridicule, and publick obloquy, accus'd, prejudg'd, and forc'd into exile by a Prince, who seldom did unkind offices; and by an ungratefull People, insensible of their happiness, which was chiefly owing to the wisdom of his administrations; and impatient of all restraint both legal and moral; and accordingly confederate against the man whose Authority was a check to their licentiousness, and prevented those mischiefs which afterward befell the King and State.

I cannot here omit this remarkable circumstance in favour of his innocency, that when the tumultuous perplex'd charge of accumulated Treasons was preferr'd against him by the *Commons*; his son *Lawrence*, then a member of that house, stept forth with this brave defiance to his Accusers, that, if they cou'd make out any proof of any *one* single *article*, he wou'd, as he was authoriz'd, join in the condemnation of his father. It appears that this challenge was not given in *vain*: and the general good opinion of the world ever  
since

since has *vindicated* the innocency of the unpopular Minister, and in a manner *revers'd* the effect of that arbitrary injurious sentence.

While we consider his banishment in a *moral* view, we find reason no longer to look upon that as his *misfortune*, which he improv'd so much to his *benefit* and *honour* : his disgrace was his *glory*, and Posterity has reap'd the advantages of that leisure, which enabled him to complete his excellent History. That sincere disinterested love of his ungratefull Prince and Country in the decline of his fortune and life, and those various instances of Christian fortitude, to the exercise of which he was call'd, give us an high idea of a true greatness of mind, which amidst his prosperity had been less conspicuous, and withal stamps a mark of value and credit on every production of his Pen. Such is the character of our Noble Historian ! and as for the History itself, nothing *greater* need be said in it's praise, than that it is *worthy* of that name, which it bears. And therefore I cannot without some astonishment and uneasy concern observe the uncommon industry of late years us'd to *discredit* this excellent work. — That it should displease the *violent* men of all Parties is not to be wonder'd at; this very circumstance carries

carries with it the praise of it's *impartiality*. But it is hard to conceive why it shou'd give offence to any Persons, who are true *friends* to our Constitution in Church and State. It might rather be expected that, as it all along establishes and recommends those very principles, on which our Government subsists, it shou'd be entitled to a favourable reception and esteem, of those especially who wou'd be thought distinguish'd above others by a peculiar and *incommunicable* affection to the present Government. Well then may we be surpriz'd to find Writers, of inconsiderable abilities, unacquainted with the true State of our affairs, or prejudic'd against our Constitution, *Pamphleteers, Foreigners, Republicans* receiv'd with such applause, extoll'd and set in opposition to the authority of the E. of CLARENDON. I am at a loss to find out what *good* purpose can be serv'd by this strange proceeding. For my own part, as I heartily wish the prosperity of his present Majesty and Royal family in the quiet possession of these kingdoms, I cannot without some painful apprehensions perceive countenance given to principles, *inconsistent* with the Loyalty of a *Christian* Subject: and do therefore wish for the common good, that the *Credit* of this  
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history may for ever flourish, and answer the publick-spirited design of the Author, by conveying to Posterity the most useful instructive lessons of political Prudence, for the direction both of the King, and the People.

The nature of the present dispute leads me to observe, that he has been injuriously treated with regard to his *writings*, as well as his *Person*: the *Historian* has been abus'd as well as the *Statesman*. Much Art has been us'd to misrepresent his meaning, to contradict his assertions, and invalidate his authority; and when all *other* methods of injury prov'd ineffectual, it was at last resolv'd to *dispossess* him of his title to his own *works*.

I cannot help observing on this occasion, that the faithful servant has in *this*, as well as in many *other* instances, suffer'd the like hard usage with his Royal Master. "If they call "the Master of the house Beelzebub how "much more those of his household?" Certain it is, that few books ever came into the world supported and recommended by so many strong concurrent proofs of genuineness, both internal and external, as the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική: but notwithstanding, after many <sup>a</sup> years

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<sup>a</sup> about 38. years: it was all along universally receiv'd as the King's own work both by *friends* and *enemies*; as *such* it was answer'd

quiet possession, a <sup>a</sup> new, and indeed very *strange* claim has been set up upon a <sup>b</sup> pretended *new* evidence; it's genuineness has been call'd in question<sup>c</sup>, and denied upon such <sup>d</sup> *slight* and *precarious* grounds, as wou'd in no *other* case be admitted by any reasonable Judge. And, altho' all the difficulties have been clear'd up by satisfactory <sup>e</sup> Answers, and the misre-

answer'd by *Milton* in his *Εἰσαγωγή*. The dispute about the genuineness was first started in the year 1686.

<sup>a</sup> The work was ascrib'd to Dr. *Gauden*, late Bp. of *Worcester*, a Person, who, (not to mention here any argument arising from the nature of the *subject matter*) merely with regard to his abilities as a *Writer*, was with reason generally esteem'd not *equal* to so excellent a performance.

<sup>b</sup> A pretended *memorandum*, said to have been written by the Earl of *Anglesey* 1675, in a blank leaf of a *printed* Copy, with an intention to *undecieve* others in this point; which nevertheless during the Earl's life, had lain undiscover'd for about 11 years, and was at last casually discover'd by *Millington* the Auctioneer at the Sale of the Earl's Library in 1686; and this circumstance gave occasion to the controversy. See Appendix.

<sup>c</sup> By Dr. *Walker* — Mr. *Toland* in the life of *Milton*, &c. See *Boyle's* Dictionary. —

<sup>d</sup> What those were the Reader will find at large in the Appendix.

<sup>e</sup> not to mention others, see the *Vindication* of the Genuineness by Mr. *Wagstaffe* 3d Edition 1711. proving that King *Charles* was the “ Author of the *Εἰς τὸν Βασιλεῦς*, against a memorandum “ said to be written by the E. of *Anglesey*, and against the “ exceptions of Dr. *Walker* and others.” See also the *Defence* of the *Vindication* against Mr. *Toland's* *Amyntor* — or a dissertation

presentations substantially disprov'd, and the King's right fully asserted and maintain'd, yet *still* many persons are forward to cavil, and dispute the point; and perhaps are likely ever to do so as long as *Party*-regards have so strong an influence on their judgments, and Mr. <sup>b</sup> *Bayle's* Dictionary (that great Magazine of Cavils and exceptions against *establiſh'd* truths) adopts the favourite falsehood, as an <sup>c</sup> avow'd fact, and conveys to Posterity the

tation in the *Appendix* to the life of *Milton* publish'd by the Rev. Mr. *Birch*, containing a just summary of the evidence on both sides of the question.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. *Oldmixon* in his history of the *Stuarts* p. 347. &c.

<sup>b</sup> The notorious partiality of Mr. *Bayle* in the representation of *this* Controversy is fully laid open by Mr. *Wagstaffe* in the preface to the last edition of his *Vindication* 1711. to which I refer the Reader.

<sup>c</sup> 'Tis observable that Mr. *Bayle*, out of his usual fondness for novelty, with an implicit faith receives Mr. *Toland's* account of the affair, (so great *credulity* is often found in *sceptical* men!) and tho' the presumption had hitherto stood in *favour* of the King's title to the book, and there was need of some *special extraordinary* proof to overthrow an *establiſh'd* right, and though all the allegations of *Amyntor* had been thoroughly examin'd and *confuted*, yet he seems to make light of the matter, is industriously ignorant of the arguments brought in proof of the King's title, and without much difficulty decides the dispute in favour of his friend Mr. *Toland*. He gives us indeed to understand that there had been something wrote on the opposite side of the question by one Mr. *Wagstaffe*; he confesses that he had never read it, but was told that the *Amyntor* had

flander without any notice of it's *confutation*.  
 What a notorious instance is this of the force

*confuted* all, that ever was, or shou'd be wrote on the subject; and so there was an End of the controversy. By confessing so much he has indeed weaken'd the authority of all his assertions: and there seems to be at the bottom some distrust of the merits of the cause, where a busy inquisitive man waves the trouble of examination. A *Criick* shou'd carefully consider the case on all sides before he pronounces judgment; and an *Historian* shou'd make a fair report: I leave the Reader to judge how far in this instance the Authour has verified the title of his Dictionary.

a I look'd into the late edition of Mr. *Boyle*, in which many of his mistakes and misrepresentations are rectified, expecting to find Mr. *Birch's* dissertation (which I have before mention'd) inferted under the of Article *Milton*, considering that he was concern'd in this Edition, and had wrote this dissertation with a design to do an act of justice in this cause, which Mr. *Boyle* had industriously omitted; and nothing surely was more equitable than that the Charge and Discharge shou'd go both together: But I was surpriz'd to find nothing of this kind in the place where it might reasonably be expected, but only a general advertisement that there was a dissertation concerning the genuineness of the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ* in the Appendix to the Life of *Milton* publish'd by the Rev. Mr. *Birch* without any notice given of it's design and purport. So that, if the Reader takes Mr. *Boyle* only for his instructour under this Article of *Milton*, he is left to carry on with him Mr. *Toland's* story, and rest in the belief of a falsehood. But it must be observ'd, that a short abstract of the arguments alledg'd in proof of the genuineness of the book and confutation of the contrary allegations is to be found under the Article of *Wagstaffe*: I think it proper to advertise the Readers of Mr. *Boyle* of this circumstance, because, as Mr. *Wagstaffe* did not put his name to his Vindication, and it is not universally known that

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of *prejudice* to overlook or reject the means of conviction, and rashly censure an excellent work as *spurious*, which, through I know not what *imagined* interest, some men are prompted to *discredit*? — So inexpedient has it been thought to allow even the praise of a *pious Christian* and good *Writer* to that unfortunate Prince whom they have condemn'd for a bad *Politician*!

I leave the Reader to draw the comparison between the two cases: their similitude in some respects, and alliance to the same cause, will, I hope, justify the insertion, that by these means the Vindication of both might go together. Moreover it may be sufficient to remark in general concerning *both*, that all the slanders and misrepresentations, which have been rais'd, as they have given occasion to more accurate enquiries and examination into the state of such matters, have become the means of discovering *fresh* evidences by which the truth for the future is set in a fairer light.

Lord *Clarendon* has been attack'd, as in his

he was the Author, there does not appear sufficient reason to expect to meet with it under *that* title.

\* By this means many circumstances setting forth the *time* and *manner* of the King's writing it have been found out —  
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*Person*, so in his *History* by the *same* set of prejudic'd violent men. Methinks on this occasion I see the *same* son of the Noble Author, the Editor of this History, as in the former Instance, so also in the present, step forth with a *defiance* to his slanderers, in Vindication of his *own* and his *Father's* honour. The innocency of *both* stands clear in the judgment of all impartial men. Lord *Clarendon's* title to his own work is made good; and the *Credit* of the History is establish'd together with it's *genuineness*.

There is indeed a fashionable taste for *Writings* as well as *other* things. *Singularity* and *boldness* of assertions may meet with applause; and the opposers of Lord *Clarendon* may be in vogue for a *while*: and even Mr. *Oldmixon*

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we have the testimony of his *friends*, — of some who had seen him actually writing it; — of others, who had read some part of it afterwards; — the testimony of his *Enemies*, who had the greatest part of these papers a long time in their possession; — and lastly, the *manner* of conducting the Edition at two Presses at once before the King's murder; — the *names* of the Persons concern'd as *Revisers*, *Correctors*, and *Printers* — and withal one singular circumstance discover'd by a Party concern'd, viz. that the Prayer of *Pamela* was foisted into some subsequent Editions in order to discredit the whole work, by the management of President *Bradshaw* and *Milton*, who was already prepar'd to aggravate this circumstance as much as possible, to the prejudice of the King, as he has shewn in his *Eigenschaften*.

may

may have his *admirers*. But writings of this kind seldom outlive the humour and caprice of the people, for which they are calculated; and by degrees their *value* is lost together with their *novelty*. But *this* History of Lord *Clarendon* will gain credit with time; it's intrinsic value, as it hath hitherto, will I trust, for ever recommend it to the esteem of all *moderate* and *impartial* men, of whatever denomination: and *their* continued approbation will always justify the application of the motto prefix'd \* κτῆμα ἐς αἰῶν, a monument for eternity, a possession of perpetual honour to the Author, of perpetual benefit to Posterity.

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a What Thucydides here says of himself is so truly applicable to the circumstances of our Historian, that I shall cite the context,

— Τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν προχρήτων εἰς τῷ πολέμῳ ὄντι οὐα τοῦ παρονομαζομένου ἐξίσταται γράψαν, ἃ δ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἰδύσαι, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτοῖς παρῆν ἢ παρὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὄντι δυνάτην ἀκερβεία περὶ ἐκείνου ἐπιβληθῶν ἐπιπίπτει δ' ἐυλόγητο διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνοις ἢ πάντων περὶ τῶν ἐκείνου ἴλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκείνων τις ἐπιπίπτει ἢ μήπως ἔχει καὶ εἰς μὲν ἀκέραιον ἴσως τὸ μὴ μωροῦδες αὐτῶν ἀπερίστηρον φανέντων ὄντι δὲ βουλεύονται τῶν τε γνομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν, ἢ τῶν μελλόντων πῶς αὐτοῖς κρητὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ παρεμπλοῖον ἴσθησι ἀφίλημα κέρειν, αὐτῶν ἀκέραιος ἔχει. Κτῆμα τε ἐς αἰῶν μόνον ἢ ἀγρίοισμα ἐς τὸ παρεχόμενον ἀκέραιον σύγκραται.

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A P P E N D I X.

*The late Bishop of Rochester's Vindication of Bishop Smalridge, Dr. Aldrich, and Himself, from the scandalous Reflections of Mr. Oldmixon, relating to the Publication of Lord Clarendon's History.*

Paris O<sup>b</sup>. 26. 1731.

I Have lately seen an Extract of some Pages in Mr. *Oldmixon's* History of *England*. The first of them is said to be taken from his Preface to that History, *p. 9.* and runs in these Words.

“ I have, in more than one Place of this History,  
 “ mentioned the great Reason there is to suspect,  
 “ that the History of the Rebellion, as it was pub-  
 “ lished at *Oxford*, was not entirely the Work of the  
 “ Lord *Clarendon*; who did indeed write an History  
 “ of those Times, and, I doubt not, a very good  
 “ one; wherein, as I have been (I believe) well in-  
 “ formed, the *Châraacters* of the *Kings*, whose Reigns  
 “ are written, were different from what they appear  
 “ in the *Oxford* History and its Copy, Mr. *Echard's*.  
 “ I speak this by Hear-say; but *Hear-say* from a Person  
 “ superior to all Suspicion, and too illustrious to be named,  
 “ without leave.

“ I also humbly refer it to the Decision of another  
 H “ very



“very honourable Person, whether there is not, to his  
 “Knowledge, such an History in Manuscript, still  
 “extant; and to a Reverend Doctor, now living, whe-  
 “ther he did not see the Oxford Copy, by which the  
 “Book was printed, altered, and interpolated, while  
 “it was at the Press.

“To which I must add, that there is now in Cu-  
 “stody of a Gentleman of Distinction, both for Merit  
 “and Quality, a History of the Rebellion, of the  
 “first Folio Edition, scored, in many Places, by Mr.  
 “Edmund Smith, of Christ-Church, Oxon, Author of  
 “that excellent Tragedy, *Phædra* and *Hippolytus*; who  
 “himself altered the Manuscript History, and added  
 “what he has there mark’d, as he confessed with  
 “some of his last Words, before his Death. These  
 “Alterations, written with his own Hand, and to be  
 “seen by any one that knows it, may be published,  
 “on another Occasion, with a farther Account of  
 “this Discovery. In the mean Time, for the Sa-  
 “tisfaction of the Publick, I insert a Letter, entire,  
 “which I received since the last Paragraph was writ-  
 “ten.

To Mr. \* \* \* \* \*

S I R,

“Accidentally looking on some of the Sheets of  
 “your History of *England*, during the Reigns  
 “of the Royal House of *Stuart*, at the Bookfeller’s,  
 “I find, that you mention the History of Lord *Clar-*  
 “*endon*; wherein you justly question the Genuine-  
 “ness of that Book. In order to put the Matter  
 “out of Doubt, I here send you the following Ac-  
 “count.

“Mr. *Edmund Smith*, a Man very well known in  
 “the learned World, came down to make me a  
 “Visit at \* \* \* \* \* about *June 1710*; where he con-  
 “tinued, till he died, about six Weeks after.

“As

“As our Conversation chiefly ran upon Learning  
 “and History, you may easily think, that *Clarendon's*  
 “was not forgotten. Upon mentioning that Book,  
 “he frankly told me, that there had been a fine  
 “History written by Lord *Clarendon*; but what was  
 “published under his Name was only Patch-work,  
 “and might as properly be call'd, the *History of*  
 “AL ——— SMALL ——— and *ATTERBURY*: For, to  
 “his Knowledge, 'twas alter'd; nay, that he himself  
 “was employ'd by them to interpolate and alter the Ori-  
 “ginal.

“He then ask'd me, whether I had the Book by  
 “me? If I had, he would convince me of the Truth of  
 “his Assertion, by the very printed Copy. I imme-  
 “diately brought him the *Folio* Edition; and the  
 “first thing he turned to, was the Character of Mr.  
 “*Hampden*, where is that Expression: He had a *Head*  
 “to contrive, a *Heart* to conceive, and a *Hand* to exe-  
 “cute any Villainy. \*He then declared, it was foisted  
 “in by those Reverends.

S I R,

“I have only to add this, that he not only under-  
 “lined this Passage, as a Forgery; but gave, during  
 “the short time he lived with me, the same Remark  
 “to some Hundreds more.

I am, S I R, &c.

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\* The Words are much softer in the History; where instead of a *Heart* to conceive, we find, a *Tongue* to persuade; and, instead of the Word *Villainy*, that of *Mischief*; as the Citation is, in another Part of this Extract, truly made. The unknown Writer of this Letter, while he is charging others with the Crime of falsifying Lord *Clarendon's* History, should have taken Care to stand clear of it himself.

In a Second Passage, said to be taken from pag. 227. of the History it self, Mr. *Oldmixon* is represented as expressing himself thus.

“In the Character of this great and excellent  
 “Man, Mr. *Hampden*, which we could wish had es-  
 “caped his (Lord *Clarendon*’s) Drawings, or the  
 “Drawings of those clumsy Painters, into whose  
 “Hands his Work fell, there is something so very  
 “false and base, that such Coin could only come  
 “from a College Mint. (*In a Word, what was said*  
 “of *CINNA* might well be apply’d to *HAMPDEN*: He  
 “had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perswade,  
 “and a Hand to execute any Mischief. His Death;  
 “therefore, seem’d to be a great Deliverance to the Na-  
 “tion.)

“There are not Words to express the *Infamy* of  
 “this Slander, and Imposture, nor the unparalleled Wick-  
 “edness of those Doctors, who foisted so horrid a Refle-  
 “ction into that Character. The Person, who did it,  
 “was Mr. *Edmund Smith*, of *Oxford*, Author of *Pha-*  
 “*dra* and *Hippolytus*, a Tragedy; who at his Death,  
 “confessed to the Gentleman, in whose House he  
 “died, that, among a great Number of *Alterations*  
 “and *Additions*, which he himself made, in the Hi-  
 “story of the Rebellion, by Order of Doctor *ALDRICH*,  
 “Doctor *ATTERBURY*, and Doctor *SMALLRIDGE*,  
 “successive Deans of *Christ-Church*, this very Saying of  
 “*CINNA* apply’d to Mr. *Hampden*, was one; and  
 “when he read it to one of those Doctors, he clapped  
 “him on the Back, and cry’d, with an Assesuration,  
 “It will do. The Confession Mr. *Smith* made, and  
 “the Remorse he expressed for being concerned in  
 “this Imposture, were his last Words.

A great Part of the first of these Passages, including the Letter, is translated *verbatim* into *French*, and publish'd into a *Journal* entitled, *Bibliothèque Raisonnée des Ouvrages des Sçavans de l'Europe, pour les Mois de Juillet, Août, Septembre 1730. Tome 5me. 1re Partie. A Amsterdam, chez les Westeins & Smith 1730. Art. 5. Pag. 154. &c.*

After which, the *Journalist* adds the following *Reflection*.

*Cette découverte fait peu d'honneur aux trois Theologiens qui sont nommés dans la Lettre, qui ont pourtant tenu un grand rang dans l'Angleterre, & dans la Republique des Lettres. Comme Mr. ATTERBURY, ci-devant Evêque de Rochester, l'un des trois est encore vivant, il ne sera pas apparemment insensible à une accusation si grave; & le Public attend de lui les éclaircissemens que l'intérêt seul de sa réputation semble en exiger. S'il se tait, dans cette rencontre, il n'y a point de doute que la falsification est prouvée; & quand même il ne se tairoit pas, il faut que les éclaircissemens soient bien forts pour détruire ces faits.*

This Discovery does little Honour to the three Divines named in the Letter, &c. As Mr. ATTERBURY, heretofore Bishop of Rochester, one of the three, is still living, he will not probably be insensible of so grievous an Accusation; and the Publick expects from him such Accounts of it, as even the Interest of his own Reputation seems to require. If he is silent, on this Occasion, there can be no doubt, but that the Falsification is proved; and should he not be silent, what he shall say, to clear up this Matter, must be very strong, to destroy the Credit of such a Testimony.

Be-

Being call'd upon, in this publick Manner, I think myself obliged to declare, that the foregoing Account, in all its Parts, as far as I am any ways concerned, is entirely false and groundless. For I never saw my Lord *Clarendon's* History in Manuscript, either before, or since the Edition of it; nor never read a Line of it but in Print. It was impossible, therefore, that I should deal with Mr. *Smith* in the Manner represented, with whom (as far as I can recollect) I never exchanged one Word in all my Life; and whom I know not that I ever saw, till after the Edition of that History. If therefore he expressed himself to this Purpose, in his last Moments (as I charitably hope he did not) he wronged me extremely, and died with a Lie in his Mouth.

This Vindication of the Truth, and myself, is necessary, since I happen to survive the two other worthy Persons mentioned. Were they alive, they would, I doubt not, be equally able, and ready to clear themselves from so foul an Aspersion. As to one of them, Dr. *Smalridge*, the late Bishop of *Bristol*, no Suspicion of this kind can possibly rest on his Memory; because He was not any ways concern'd in preparing that History for the Press; but as much a Stranger to the Contents of it, as I my self was, till it came forth in Print. I speak with the more Assurance on this Head, because my great Intimacy with him, as my Contemporary, both at *Westminster*, and *Christ-Church*

*Church*, gave me all the Advantages requisite towards knowing the Truth of what I say. With Dr. *Aldrich*, the Third Person accused, I was acquainted more at a Distance. However, being called upon in the Manner I am, I will add also what has come to my Knowledge, with regard to the Share, He and Others had, in the Publication of that History.

The Revising of the Manuscript (written, as I have heard, not very correctly) was committed to the Care of Bishop *Sprat*, and Dean *Aldrich*, by the late Earl of *Rochester*; who himself also assisted in that Revisal, from the Beginning to the End of the Work: So that any Changes, made in it, must have had the Consent of those three Persons. They were Men of Probity and Truth, and incapable of Conspiring in a Design to impose on the Publick. I can cite nothing, that is material in this Point, from the Mouth of the *Earl*, with whom I rarely conversed; but the *Bishop* and the *Dean*, to whom I severally succeeded in the Deanries of *Christ-Church* and *Westminster*, and in the See of *Rochester*, have occasionally more than once assured me, that no Additions whatsoever were made to the Manuscript History. And even the *Earl*, in his Preface to the first Volume (for His I take it to be, tho' no Name is affixed to it) has publicly protested his Innocence in this Respect, where he declares, that *They who put forth the History* (he means Himself and his Brother, as  
ap-

appears from what follows) *durst not take upon them to make any Alterations in a Work of this kind, solemnly left with them to be published, whenever it should be published, as it was delivered to them.*

Could He, and the two other Persons by him employed, be supposed to have made any Additions, notwithstanding such Assurances to the contrary, yet their good Sense (if not their Integrity) would have prevented, at least, their re touching those *Characters*, which are allowed to be the most distinguished and beautiful Part of the Work, and to have something of Original in them that is not to be imitated. The After-strokes of any less able Pencil, intermix'd with those of the first Masterly Hand, would soon be discovered: And yet I am perswaded, the most discerning Eye can find out no Traces of such a Mixture; no, not in the Character of Mr. *Hambden*, even in those Words, at the Close of it, against which Mr. *Oldmixon* so warmly declaims. They are perfectly in the Style and Manner of my Lord *Clarendon*; they contain nothing new in them, but only sum up, in short, what he had scattered through different Parts of the two first Volumes. Let the Reflections there made be never so severe, they may naturally be supposed, in the Warmth of Composure, to have come from the Pen of an Historian, who had himself with Zeal opposed Mr. *Hambden's* Measures, and both seen, and felt the sad  
Con-

Consequences of them: But, that the Editors of his History, no ways concerned in those Transactions, should, Sixty Years afterwards, coolly and deliberately make such a needless Insertion, is not to be imagined

The Complaint, on this and other Heads, should have been brought against these Editors, while it was capable of being thoroughly examined; at present, it comes a little too late, unless it were better supported: Their very Characters, to those who knew them, and the Nature of the Evidence, to those who did not, will be judged a Sufficient Confutation of it. For, pray, what is this Evidence? It consists in an *Hear-say from a Person, superior to all Suspicion*, it seems, but *too illustrious to be named*: In an Appeal to *another very Honourable Person, to a Reverend Doctor now living, and to a Gentleman of Distinction, both for Merit and Quality*; none of whose Names are thought fit to be owned. The only one produced in the Case, is that of Mr. *Smith the Author of an excellent Tragedy*; but certainly not an Author of Rank and Weight enough to blast the Credit of such an excellent History. Of what Use can his Testimony be to this Purpose (even supposing the Account of it exact,) when it is undoubtedly false, as to Two of the Three Persons it is levelled at, Dr. *Smalridge* and myself; and may therefore be justly presumed alike false, as to the Third, Dr. *Aldrich*? Mr. *Smith* appears to have been  
so



so little in the Secret of the Edition of that Book, as not to have known even the Hands, through which it passed: And is not therefore to be relied upon in his Accounts of any other Circumstances relating to it; especially, with regard to Dr. *Aldrich*, his Governour at *Christ-Church*; for whom his personal Aversion, and the true Reasons of it, are too well understood to need explaining. I forbear to say any thing harsh of One not able to answer for Himself; but many, now alive, who knew them both, know how improbable, and altogether incredible, it is, that Mr. *Smith* should have had the least Share in Dr. *Aldrich*'s Confidence, on so nice, or, indeed, on any Occasion. The Gentleman, who seems to be convinced of the Truth of Mr. *Smith*'s Assertions, by his having pointed out and underlined the Passages, in *Print*, which, he said, he was employ'd (by the three successive Deans) to interpolate and alter, in Manuscript, must surely have been very willing to be convinced; otherwise, he would not have taken a mere Assertion for a Proof, in such a Cause, and from such a Person. The Story of this Death-bed Declaration slept for about Twenty Years; near Thirty have passed, since the History of the Rebellion was published (I mean the first Part of it) and not a few, since the Death of every Person that either was, or is falsely said to have been, concerned in that Publication, myself only excepted. I might, pro-

probably, at the Distance of *Montpelier*, where I was, when Mr. *Oldmixon* wrote, never have heard of what he lays to my Charge (Intelligence of that kind being, as he knows, not very open to me) or, should it reach me, I might yet, in my present Circumstances, be supposed not over-sollicitous to appear in the Disproof of it. The Delay of the Accusation therefore, if without Design, was not without its Advantages: and had it been deferred a little longer, till I was not only out of the Way, but out of the World, it had had a still fairer Chance towards being uncontradicted, and, consequently, credited. I have lived to hear this idle Tale, and to bear Witness against it: There is no Vanity in hoping, that, old as I am, I shall outlive the Belief of it. An *Holland-Journal* gave me the first Notice, how I had been treated, and, by that Means, an Opportunity of vindicating myself; which I was the rather determined not to decline, because I suffered in Company with others, Men of great Note and Merit, through whose Sides the Authority of a noble and useful Part of our *English* History was struck at. Where I alone am aspersed and wronged, I can, I thank God, more easily practise Patience, and submit to Indignities and Injuries in Silence. A foreign Writer has used me, in this Case, with greater Civility, and Temper, than Mr. *Oldmixon*, whom I know not that I have ever offended. I forgive

give him his ill Words, and his hard Thoughts ; and only desire him, for the future, not to indulge himself in ill-natur'd Relations of this kind, without better Vouchers. His Attack on me, and on the Dead, who, he thought, might be insulted with equal Safety, is no Proof of a generous and worthy Mind ; nor has he done any Honour to his own History, by the fruitless Pains he has taken to discredit that of my Lord *Clarendon* : which, like the Character of its Author, will gain Strength by Time ; and will be in the Hands and Esteem of all Men, when Mr. *Oldmixon's* unjust Censure of it will not be remember'd, or not regarded.

FR. ROFFEN.

Printed at *Paris* MDCCXXXI.

The

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## The last Will and Testament of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*.

E Registro Curiae Prærogat. Cant.

**I** Edward Earle of Clarendon doe ordain this to be my last Will and Testament. Imprimis, I committ my soule to God and make Executors of this said last Will my two sons Henry Viscount Cornbury and Lawrence Hyde Esq; And commend to them the care of my servants who have behaved themselves very carefully and honestly to me. And likewise recommend their Sister Frances Hyde and their Brother James Hyde Esq; to their kindness; to whom I am able to leave nothing but their kindness. Item I give and bequeath to my said two sons all my papers and writings of what kind soever and leave them intire to their disposal as they shall be advised either by Suppressing or Publishing by the Advice and Approbation of my Ld. Arch Bishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester whom I do intreat to be Overseers of this my Will, and that they would be both Suitors to his Majesty on my Childrens behalf, who have all possible need of his Majesty's Charity, being the Children of a father who never committed fault against his Majestie. At Rowen this Eleventh day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred seventy and four.

Clarendon.

Wit-

*Witness*

*H. Peccaus* Seren. Regis M. Britanniaë Medicus.  
*Hump. Wilkins.*

Probatum Londini coram Domino &c. 14. die  
 mensis Decembris Anno Dom. 1675. Juramentis Præ-  
 nobilis & Hon. viri Dni. Henrici de Clarendon &  
 Honorandi viri Lawrentii Hyde Armigeri filior dñi  
 defunct. & Extor &c. Quibus. &c. Jurat.

*Linthwaite Tarrant* Registrar.

Deputat. assumpt.

Dr. Terry (late Canon of *Christ-Church*) his ac-  
 count, as it now appears in the College  
 Library of *Worcester* College, written by  
 the late Dr. *George Clarke*.

*Memorandum April 21. 1726.*

**T**HIS morning, Dr. Terry Canon of *Christ-Church*  
 came to me; and knowing that he supervised the  
 first Edition of Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebel-*  
*lion*, and corrected the press, I ask'd him what became  
 of the Manuscript copy from which it was printed: he  
 say'd, that he thought it was returned to the Earle of  
*Rocheſter*. I mention'd to him what I heard Sr. *Jof.*  
*Iekyll* say lately in the *House of Commons*, That he  
 had reason to believe or to that purpose, that it was not  
 printed faithfully — The Doctor assured me that he knew  
 of no one thing omitted, but an imperfect account of a  
 Bull-

*Bull-Feast at Madrid, when the Author was Ambassador there, which did not concern the purpose of the History; nor of any thing added, besides some circumstances of King Charles's removing from Brussels to Breda, which the Earle of Rochester declared he found in his Father's papers.*

*As for the rest, Dr. Terry assur'd me it was most exactly printed from the written copie; and the Earle of Rochester was so nicely scrupulous in having it follow'd, that he would not suffer any small variation, tho' only to make the sense clearer and the composition lesse intricate, which I have also heard confirm'd at several times by Dr. Aldrich, the late worthy Dean of Christ Church, and my good friend Mr Hill of Richmond who both, have been present when it was propos'd to change, or transpose a word or two, in order to make the sense and meaning of the Author more perspicuous, and this proposal has sometimes been made by the Dean himself; but the Earl of Rochester would never consent to it, saying that it was his Father's booke, and should be printed as he left it; which his Lordship had solemnly promised when he receiv'd it — I ask'd Dr. Terry who wrote the Preface to the first Volume? he answer'd the Earle of Rochester he suppos'd, for it was deliver'd to him written all in the Earl's hand, and printed from that Copy.*

Geo. Clarke.

Mr.

Mr. *Wogan's* Declaration and Testimony concerning the Publication of the Earl of *Clarendon's* History of the Rebellion, as it is now to be seen in the *Bodlejan* Library.

**I**N the beginning of the Year 1699. being then a King's Scholar and Captain of Westminster School, I was employ'd by the recommendation of Dr. Sprat then Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, and of Dr. Knipe then Head Master of the School, to write a fair Copy of a Manuscript, which appear'd to be, and I believe certainly was, Lord Clarendon's History of the Grand Rebellion. And I was thereupon order'd to attend, as often as the Earl of Rochester (who I was inform'd and understood was preparing an Edition of the said History) came to the said Bishop's House at the Deanry in Westminster, which was generally once a Week. Here I had an Apartment allotted for writing the same, and for locking up my Papers.

The Manuscript which I copied was in Folio sheets stich'd up in small Quires of five or six Sheets in each parcel, which were put into my Hands severally as I proceeded in the Copy. There were with the said Manuscript Sheets, so deliver'd to me, some Alterations and Amendments with proper Marks where the Same were to be inserted. These Alterations or Amendments were written on loose and separate Papers, but were neither many nor long. I was at that time about the Age of Twenty years, and I can very well remember that those Alterations were only Corrections of the Style and Phrase, but not of Sense or Meaning of the Author, and made  
purely

purely to clear the Sentences from Obscurity, when too prolix, or too much involved in Parentheses, with which the said Work did much abound. But even this was done but very rarely; the Earl of Rochester, who was son to the Earl of Clarendon Author of the said History, being, as I have been credibly informed, scrupulously tenacious of his Father's Style, and very cautious of admitting any Amendments or Variations from the Original, except where it appear'd absolutely necessary to render the Noble Author's sense and Meaning more plain and intelligible. And this I presume, (and I really even at that time thought) might be his Lordship's reason for consulting on this Occasion with Bp. Sprat, who was generally esteem'd a most Correct Writer, and one of the greatest Masters of Style in those times. But all the said Amendments or Corrections of the Style or Phrase, were to the best of my Remembrance in the Hand writing of the Earl of Rochester, which I was well acquainted with, and delivered to me sometimes by the Bishop, and sometimes by the Earl's own Hand, with Instructions how and where to insert them properly.

During the summer Season I was sometimes taken down to the Bishop's Palace at Bromley in Kent and wrote there; and once for about a Weeks time, I attended both their Lordships at my Lord Rochester's Seat at Petersham. But during the whole Time I was employ'd, I never saw, nor ever remember to have heard, that either Dean Aldrich, or any other (except the Persons abovemention'd,) was concern'd in preparing the said History for the Press.

I wrote out and transcribed the Four or Five first Books of the said History, and then was Chosen at the Election



in the year 1700 to Trinity College in Cambridge.

Many years afterwards, viz. on the 1st. March 1731-2 George Clarke Esq; sent for me to his Lodgings in Spring Garden near Whitehall, and in the Presence of the late Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup> Edward Southwell Esq; then Principal Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Ireland, shewed me the Copy I had Transcribed, and asked me if it was his Hand: I acknowledg'd it was, and that I had transcribed the same when a King's Scholar at Westminster School in the year 1699. And in looking it over I observed here and there some literal Mistakes which I had made in Copying, rectified; but most, if not all of them in the Earl of Rochester's Hand. — Beside these Alterations in my Copy I observed none but some Typographical Marks for directing the Composers while the Book was at the Press.

In the year 1735 being then at Oxford, and making a Visit to Dr. Clarke at his Lodgings in All Souls College, he again shewed me that part of the said Book which I had Transcribed for the Press. I again acknowledged the same to be my Hand writing, with no other Alterations therein, but such Literal Corrections as are abovementioned. — At the same time he shewed me a large Collection of loose Papers, which he took out of a Box, and told me they were the rough Draught or first Materials which my Lord Clarendon had prepared for the Ground-work of his History: that his Lordships first Intention was to have written the same as the History of his Own Times; but that afterwards, enlarging his Design, he compiled thereout what hath since been Publish'd; and called it, THE HISTORY OF THE GRAND REBELLION. Some of these Papers were written, as  
the

*the Doctor inform'd me, in his Lordships own Hand, and some of them I observed, were in the same Hand with the Manuscript whence the Copy had been transcribed by me for the Press. — Amongst these MS. Papers were Draughts of divers Persons Characters, and in particular that of Mr. Hambden, in which those very Words which his Lordship has borrow'd from the Character of Cinna, and applies to Mr. Hambden (Book, VII.) are found, — not interlineated but in the current Lines; and therefore could be no Addition or Interpolation of the Editors in the Body of the History since his Lordships Decease,*

*To conclude; As I am the last and only Surviving Evidence of these Facts, and may soon appear before the Great Judge of all the Earth, I gladly embrace this Opportunity before my Departure, of giving my Testimony to the Genuineness of Lord Clarendon's History as far as I was concerned in the Publication thereof. And I again repeat, and in the most Solemn Manner Attest and Declare, that the Copy of the said Book, as far as by Me was written fair for the Press, that is to say, as far as the Four or Five first Books thereof, did in sense and Purport entirely agree with the Original Manuscript from whence I transcribed the same; and that the Alterations so made as abovementioned, in which the sense and meaning were in no wise affected, were no other than such Amendments as the Noble Author himself, had he lived to Publish this Work, would, (I am verily perswaded) have consented to and Approved. And I do solemnly Affirm and Declare that to the best of my Remembrance and most firm Belief, in the Copy I so wrote, I neither did insert, nor had Orders to insert any New Paragraph Period or Passage*

*sage which was not or were not in the said Original Manuscript; nor to Omit any Paragraph Period or Passage, except as above excepted, which was or were in the said Original; nor were there any Interpolations whatever in the same. The whole said Original MS. which I saw, was written very fair in a small neat round Hand, and with very few Interlineations, and none in any other Hand that I remember. The Copyer, as I was informed by Dr. Clarke, was one Mr. Shaw a Steward or servant to the Earl of Clarendon, and it had the plain Mark of Age, the Ink being turned brown and cankry.*

*Mem. I stay'd a year extraordinary at School for the Purport abovementioned.*

*William Wogan of Ealing in the County of Middlesex Gent. came this Day before me and made Oath, that the Contents of the above Declaration relating to the Publication or First Edition of the Earl of Clarendon's History of the Grand Rebellion, are True; and that he doth the same of his own Accord and Free-will without any Fee or Reward from any Person or Persons whatsoever, that are or may be concerned or Interested in Printing or Vending the said Book, but purely and solely from a regard to Truth, that he may hereby bear his Testimony to the Fidelity of the Editors who first Published the said History, and to the Genuineness of the said Edition as far as in him lies, and according to the best of his Judgment, Remembrance and Sincere Belief.*

W. WOGAN.

Sworn at my Chambers in Chancery  
Lane the Sixteenth day of February  
1743. before me

S. BURROUGHS.

The following paper was printed and dispersed by Mr Oldmixon soon after the publication of part of the foregoing Defence of the Genuineness &c. in the Weekly Miscellany.

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Mr. Oldmixon's REPLY to the groundless and unjust Reflections upon him, in three late Weekly Miscellanies.

IF *Oxonienfis*, so the Doctor, who publishes those Papers, or his Letter Writer, calls himself, is as capable of Shame as he is of Scandal, he will certainly be confounded, when he finds he has charg'd me in very gross and abusive Terms, with being in Concert with Mr. *Ducket*, to impose a Cheat on the World; the contrary to which is so easily prov'd. This Cheat was, that I was in a Plot with the said *Ducket*, to make *Edmund Smith* of *Christ-Church, Oxon*, Author of a Lye, in saying, That the scandalous Expression concerning Mr. *Hampden*, in the History of the *Rebellion*, was foisted in by the *Editors*. Now it happens, that some Years before *Smith's* Discovery was talk'd of, I my self had charg'd that very Expression on the Author of the History himself, and not on the *Editors*, in these Words; *Tet the Earl of Clarendon* says of him, *He had a Head to contrive*, &c. as in Preface to *Clarendon* and *Whitlock* compar'd. But *Oxonienfis* having positively asserted that I, printing my Name, without the least Warrant, or regard to Modesty or Truth, did in Concert with Mr. *Ducket*, with whose Name he is as familiar as if it was of no more Value than his own, falsely and maliciously contrive the Forgery of *Edmund Smith's* being the Author of that odious Passage about *Hampden*, he probably will demand other Evidence before he will own himself guilty of so flagrant a Calumny; and he will find it in the Treatise before-mentioned, where I expatiate on the Lord *Clarendon's* suffering such an unchristian Expression to escape him. Take the Paragraph entire; "This is spoken of a Gentleman the most esteem'd and belov'd of any Man of his Time. Mr. *Whitlocke*, who was Mr. *Hampden's* Neighbour, and in the strictest Friendship with him, and whose Judgment and Sincerity have never yet been  
"called

“called in question, writes thus of him, *His Fortune was large, his natural Abilities great, his Affection to publick Liberty and Applause in his Country, exposed him to many Troubles, &c.* It will be fair enough for us to desire that, before we give Credit to any one of his Lordship’s Characters *pro or con,*” this Matter be settled between the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* and the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, General *Ludlow*, I know *Oxonien’s* will shake his Head at the very Name of him, but I mention him as he was a Man of Quality, Learning, Genius, and Author of a History, preferable for Manner and Stile to that of the *Rebellion*; and as to the Preference he had in his County, *Wiltshire*, I find him *Knight of the Shire* when *Edward Hyde*, Esq; a *Wiltshire* Man, was Member for a *Cornish* Borough, *Salisbury*, General *Ludlow*, I say, writes thus of Mr. *Hampden*; *His Reputation for Honesty was universal; of rare Affability and Temper; he always left the Character of an ingenious, conscientious Person. He was, indeed, a very wise Man, and of great Parts; Supreme Governor of all his Passions and Affections; of personal Courage equal to his Parts, &c.* Now, which of the two is most likely to have said of so great and excellent a Man as Mr. *Hampden*, *He had a Head to contrive, a Tongue to persuade, and a Hand to execute any MISCHIEF*, *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, or Mr. *Edmund Smith*, of *Christ-Church, Oxon*, who was expelled the University. Will the *Oxford* Gentlemen leave it on that foot? As to any Concert with Mr. *Ducket*, I never saw him, to my knowledge, till after the publishing of that Treaty, and came thus into his Acquaintance. Upon publishing of *Clarendon* and *Whitlocke* compar’d, when he read in the Title Page, *The Editors of Lord Clarendon’s History have hardly left one Fact, or one Character, on the Parliament side, fairly represented*, he said to the Bookseller to this Effect, *Lord! How shou’d he know it; I can give him substantial Proofs of the Books being alter’d*, which he desir’d the Bookseller to write me in the Country, and he wrote it accordingly. When I came to Town I saw Mr. *Ducket*, and he told me, All that I have said of *Smith’s* Sickness and Death at his House; and that he did to the last speak of the altering *Clarendon* as a Matter which was unquestionable; with several Circumstances and Particulars which have either escaped my Memory, or are not proper to be insisted upon now Mr. *Ducket* is dead. In truth,

truth, I took it ill of him, that after he had said there were hundreds of Passages scor'd by *Smith* in his Folio *Clarendon*, he did not send for it to Town, telling him, when he made some Excuse as to the Distance of his House from *London*, and spoke slightly of any Objection to it, That I thought it of such Consequence, if he publish'd his Information, *that if he himself rid Post for it*, 'twou'd be no more than he ought to do, if he cou'd not get it without it; which he through Indolence or Negligence omitting, I dropt the Affair till the Preface to the History was in the Press, and then he writ the anonymous Letter, as *Oxonienfis* calls it, sign'd *G. Duckett*, and sent it me by the same Bookseller; which was all the Concert that was between us about it. The Truth is, that I, who did then, and do still suspect some such sort of Management with the *Clarendon* History, and who had Information of it from other Hands, though not with such Particulars, was not ill pleas'd to have this Proof of it from a *Christ-Church* Man, and had no reason in the World to suspect *Mr. Duckett's* imposing upon me: His Information was voluntary, unsought for by me, and unexpected; I knew his Character to be equal to any Credit I cou'd give it; that he was in an honourable Post of Trust; a Man of Sense, Learning, and Knowledge of the World, having been several Years a Member of the House of Commons. I knew, and represented to him, that he would alarm a great Body of People, very inveterate in their Resentments, but most so when their Interest is concern'd, and that he must expect to be called upon to make Proof of what he had said; which he was sensible of, and seem'd to bid 'em Defiance. But now he is dead, *Oxonienfis* who falls upon him and me, for deferring what we had to say against the History of the *Rebellion*, till the Parties accused were in their Graves, and other *Oxford* Men, with equal Ingenuity and Conscience, charge me with inventing a Tale which I know no more of than themselves excepting the Contents of *Mr. Duckett's* Letter, and two or three Conversations on that Subject. While he was alive the Proof lay upon him, and I resolv'd it should so lie, by keeping his original Letter very carefully. For some Time after it was published, Endeavours were us'd to have him throw the Letter upon me; and this Artifice was carried so far, that he was pleas'd to say, I had not print'd the Letter exactly as he wrote it; for which

I re-

I refer to Sir *J — T —* and *G — C —*, Esq; one of the Gentlemen mention'd by *Oxonienfis*. The Alteration was leaving out the Name of his Seat in *Wiltshire*; and instead of the three Names at length only the initial Letters, as more respectful and decent. Upon second Thoughts he sent to me not to print his Name, though I must needs own, I wou'd never have printed the Letter, had he not assured me I might print his Name, and had he not sign'd it for that purpose; yet afterwards I humoured him in leaving it out. This Original Letter of his may be seen at Mr. *T. Cox*, Bookfeller under the *Royal Exchange*; with another original Letter hereafter mention'd.

On the coming out of Bishop *Atterbury's Vindication* I took such effectual Means to have *Oxonienfis's* anonymous Letter seen with *Ducket's* Name to it, that it was no more question'd; and Bishop *Atterbury's* shocking Reflections on me for a Thing I was not guilty of, provok'd Mr. *Ducket* to give me the further Information, which is in my *Reply to Atterbury*. For this he came afterwards frequently to me, being then confin'd to my Chamber by the Gout; and every Word in that *Reply* which is new I had from Mr. *Ducket*, though *Oxonienfis* avers he refused to confirm what he had told me. Indeed, he says he refus'd to attest, but that is for want of knowing the Signification of the French Word *Attester*, from which *Bailly* says we take our Word *Attest*; and *Boyer* interprets *attester* to confirm, and in that Sense I used the Word; to say nothing of the original Latin Word *attestare*. Which is enough to shew, what trust is to be put in any Thing he says. And if the Letter-Writer is not only a Divine by Profession, but a *Doctor* of Divinity, it will be a lamentable Thing to find such a one asserting boldly a notorious Untruth to injure me in the Opinion of the World; for by chance I have recover'd the following Letter, which was sent me by one intimate both with Mr. *Ducket* and my self; the Original of which, and the Hand well known, may be seen, with *Ducket's Letter*, not *Letters*, as *Oxonienfis* falsely terms it.

Colonel *Ducket* call'd upon me just now, and des'r'd me to acquaint you, That he is adv'ced by several Friends not to have his Name printed at the End of the Letter, nor the Name of his Seat; but you may print the Fact either by way of Letter to you, or in such other Manner as you shall

shall think fit, that you receiv'd it from a Person of Honour who is ready to ATTEST the Truth of it.

The Oxford Letter-Writer is so daring to assert, in Contradiction to Mr. Oldmixon's Assertion, This is certain and evident, that this worthy Gentleman was never ready to attest the Truth of his Letters. I defy all Readers to produce any Falsity so direct and staring as this is. My attesting Letter ends thus, You are entirely at liberty to print it by way of Letter to you, or work it into your Preface in any other Form.

Wednesday,

Yours, &c.

*Oxonienſis* having advertiſed ſeven Books of the original MS. *Clarendon* to be lodged in *Bartlett's Buildings*, where every one may have recourſe to them, and that the Paſſage about *Hampden* is therein, I refer to View, contenting my ſelf with what he ſays further, that it has been ſeen by two illuſtrious Perſons, who, if they knew Lord *Clarendon's* Hand-writing, and ſaw that Paſſage in the Hiſtory of the ſame Hand-writing, it will be ſatisfactory to all the World as to that Paſſage, and the Impoſture will reſt upon Mr. *Edmund Smith* if he told Mr. *Ducket* the Expreſſion was his own; or on Mr. *Ducket*, if *Smith* did not tell him ſo; in both which Caſes I am and will be cut of the Queſtion. Mr. or Dr. *Oxonienſis* knows it well enough, yet contrary to his Knowledge, to a good Conſcience, and good Manners, he falſly charges me with being in Concert for the Invention of this Story, which I am not ſo much concerned in as himſelf, or the Doctor his publiſher is, being the Canal, in the Falſhoods and Impertinencies publiſh'd in their News-Paper. He tells me I promis'd to thank him for ſomething; I do hereby thank him for eaſing me of any future Trouble about Mr. *Ducket's* Letter, by bringing himſelf to confeſs, that without Contradiction Mr. *Ducket* wrote it and ſent it me. *Ducket* is dead, and not a Mortal living that knew any Thing of what paſt between him and *Smith* but what he told himſelf, yet *Oxonienſis*, with a true *Pickwater* Spirit, villifies and inſults me, for not making the dead Man ſpeak, and bringing more Proof of *Smith's* Discoveries. All which I am to bear, it ſeems, and can only have my Revenge on the Enormities in the Hiſtory itſelf; but that too I am in a manner forbidden, by the common Rule of Humanity, To ſay nothing but good of the Deſunct.

The



The Letter-writer, who pretends to know Men better than they do themselves, tells me, I am angry and disappointed. If I am disappointed, the natural Consequence is being angry; but if he will suffer me to know any Thing of my self, after having given me so many Opportunities of knowing a great deal too much of him, I am not at all disappointed by *Ducket's* disowning, or refusing to attest what he told me of Mr. *Edmund Smith's* Information, for he came to me again and again to attest it, and that to the last of his Life, to a very few Days before he died.

He, nay his whole Party know, I was not at all disappointed in the Reception my History met with from the sound Part of the Nation, who, doubtless, were sensible of my Honest Endeavours to reduce the History of the *Rebellion* and *Eachard's* History to their languishing Condition; and it is hoped, my *second Volume*, now ready for the Press, containing the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and King *George I.* will be kindly received by them, to please whom is the utmost of my Ambition; and probably it is thought, the *Doctor* cannot spend his Time better, than by diverting me, if he can, from so useful a Work, and provoking me to answer his slanderous Letters; but I am aware of it, and shall take care to mispend my own Time so as little as possible. He charges me for mistaking *Thucydides* for *Herodotus*: He says not where, and reproaches me for not finding out an egregious Blunder in the History of the *Rebellion*, where *Cinna* is mistaken for *Catiline*. As to the latter, I took it as I found it, and should never have thought of a Critick upon that History, had the Faults in it been Blunders only; the Detection of which is what he glories in. Another Reproach of his against me is, that I have not given my self much to reading, nor ever saw many Books of polite Literature; which will be surprizing News to all whom his most humble Servant has the Honour to be known to, because I believe there is not one of 'em who knows any Thing of him as well as me, but is well satisfied that I had read more polite Authors twenty Years ago than *Oxoniensis* ever saw out of a publick Library. I must now acquaint him, that whatever becomes of the Passage about *Hampden*, I shall never give up my Suspicion of the Books having been under some sort of Management at the *Editing*, till the whole, in Lord *Clarendon's*

own Hand, is collated and compar'd with the printed Copy, which being as much other Mens Business as mine, I shall so leave it, having neither Leisure nor Inclinations for such Work. All that I shall do further in this Contest, and that too upon further Provocation only, will be a few Lines, to prove once more, That whatever the late Bishop *Asterbury, Oxoniensis*, and others, have said, of the Improbability of *Smith's* Information being true, considering the *known Probity* of the Parties concern'd; it is very consistent with every one of their Characters, that nothing can lessen the Belief of it, but the Collating it as above; and that, let the Original be whose or what will, the Facts in it are not true; of which I shall bring Proofs out of *Rapin's* History, the Right Honourable the *L—————'s Vindication* of General *Monk*, *Dr. Calamy*, &c. That the Method of it is not regular, nor, what the *Oxford Criticks* call *inimitable*, the Characters and Language *just* and *proper*, which I shall prove by all the Rules of Historical Criticism; nor, in a Word, that it has one good Historical Quality, which I shall prove by what one of the best Criticks *England* ever bred, one educated at *Christ-Church*, and a Pupil of *Dr. Smalridge*, said of the Lord *Clarendon's* History while that Doctor was alive. But neither he nor any one else cares to enter into the particular Merits of the Cause, contenting themselves with declaiming upon the inestimable Value of it in Speeches and Sermons, &c. without offering a Syllable in its Defence, except in Generals and Affirmatives, a very unlikely way to recover the Reputation of their Book; which, if it had been attack'd sooner, would sooner have been lost, and they been depriv'd of some goodly Edifices that are now Ornaments to their Univerfity; but you see how grateful they are for the Forbearance it met with.

I said formerly I wou'd not have so mean a Thought, as that they are more in pain for the Credit of the Copy than for that of their Patron, on Account of the Copy's having been very beneficial to them; and that there's great Reason to be apprehensive of its Suffering in the lucrative Part of it; all which is now come to pass, for the *Oxford Letters* were not published in the *Miscellany*, purely out of a Punctilio of Honour or Gratitude, or out of Regard to Truth, or even of Zeal for the Cause, but to awaken the Sale of an Edition of the History, now dormant at *Stationer's Hall*; and to serve as an Advertisement

tisement of its being to be sold, for those Letters have been bought up and dispers'd, a Fate which otherwise could not have befallen them, by the Person who, I am told, has the Books in Purchase or Pawn; and no Body can blame me, after the hard Treatment I have met with, for declaring, I believe he will have them so some Time.

Application having been made to the Gentleman in *Bartlett's* Buildings for a sight of the Original *Clarendon's* by two Persons, well vers'd in Hand-Writing, who had with them a Letter in the Earl of *Clarendon's* own Hand, to compare it, the Gentleman said *it was* advertised *without his Consent or Knowledge*, and could not be then seen. One of the Persons saying he came a good way to see it, added, he would send him a Line or two to know when he should wait upon him; which being done, and no Answer coming, the other Person call'd upon him again. He own'd the Receipt of the Letter, but continued to excuse his showing the Book, for which Reason I shall be at no more Pains about it; and whoever see it, if they are not well acquainted with Lord *Clarendon's* Hand, it will signify nothing, But to assist others in case of such Curiosity, the Letter of Lord *Clarendon's* own Hand-Writing, at the same Time that the History is said to be written, shall be at any one's Service who will make that Use of it, and apply to Mr. *Cox* the Book-feller before-mention'd.

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## R E M A R K S<sup>a</sup>

Upon the Grounds upon which the genuineness of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was call'd in question, *viz.*

1. A memorandum pretended to have been written by *the Earl of Anglesey* in a vacant page of a printed copy of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ in 1675, which *Mr. Millington* the Auctioneer is said to have discover'd at the sale of the *Earl's* books in 1686.

2. The Evidence produc'd in support of the assertion in this Memorandum, *viz.* the *Hearsay testimony* of *Dr. Walker*, — and *Mrs. Gauden's narrative*; — and inferences from some hints in certain papers left by *Mrs. Gauden* with one *Mr. North*.

THE memorandum runs in these words,

“ King Charles the second, and the Duke of York  
“ did both (in the last session of Parliament 1675,  
“ when I shew'd them in the Lord's house the written  
“ Copy of this book, wherein are some corrections  
“ written with the late King Charles' own hand) as-  
“ sure me that this was none of the said Kings com-  
“ piling, but made by *Dr. Gauden* Bishop of Exeter:

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<sup>a</sup> These remarks are extracted out of *Mr. Wagstaff's* Vindication, 3d edition 1711. to which I refer the Reader for fuller satisfaction; or to the summary of the Evidence on both sides the question, collected by the *Rev. Mr. Birch*, in the Appendix to the Life of *Milton*.

which

“ which I here insert for the undeceiving others in  
 “ this point, by attesting so much under my hand,  
 Anglesey.

It may be observed

1. With regard to the *manner* of the *suppos'd* discovery; — that for the better decoration of the story, Mr. *Toland* and Dr. *Walker* don't scruple to assert a *falsehood*: they represent the discovery as something very *singular* and *providential* — “ that *Milington* at the sale putting up the book, and a few bidding very low for it, having *leisure* to turn over the leaves, to his *great surprize* perceiv'd this memorandum.” Whereas this is notoriously false; since 'tis well known that some time before the sale he carried about with him this book and shew'd the memorandum to some particular persons. And further, 'tis observable that after he had sold the Book, he tore out the Leaf on which the *pretended* memorandum was written, and put it up in his pocket; so that it continued a secret communicated only to a chosen Few. These circumstances have a very bad aspect; the Appearance of so much artifice us'd gives just grounds to suspect a forgery in the case.

2. With regard to the memorandum itself; — 'tis obvious to remark that it is worded in an *idle, quaint,* and *inaccurate* manner, quite unworthy of the noble Earl, to whom it is ascrib'd, and so unlike his *correct* manner of writing, that his son, *Lord Altham*, from the very face of the thing, is perswaded that it never came from his Father's pen.

3. It is *unattested*: there never appears to have been

been any evidence that it was wrote, or sign'd by the E. of *Anglesey*; and therefore it is of no *authority*. Now there ought to be some *special* proof in a case, where a *new* record is pretended, which is to undeceive the world in a point where men all along have been in a mistake.

4. With regard to the fact asserted; — this is improbable in it's self, contrary to common belief: and moreover has been frequently contradicted by the suppos'd vouchers, King *Charles*, and his brother the Duke of *York*; and that formally and solemnly by their letters *patent*, as well as by assurances of a *private* kind. Further 'tis not easy to conceive that this fact shou'd so long be kept as a *secret*, which they with such openness and unreservedness in the house of Lords discover'd to the Earl of *Anglesey*: from which circumstances we may fairly presume they had not that persuasion concerning the Author of the *ΕΙΝΑΙ ΒΑΝΔΙΝ* which is *supposed* in this memorandum.

5. With regard to the circumstance of *time* it is very inaccurate and *defective* — there is no date of the *day* or *month* when it was *written* by the Earl — no determinate point of time specified *when* the King and the Duke gave the Earl this assurance — the terms *in the last session of Parliament* are ambiguous: the session may be consider'd as the *last* with regard to the *memorandum*, so as to signify *that* immediately preceding the time of writing it — or *absolutely* the *last session* of that year. Further, the terms are of too great a *latitude*; — they may comprehend a considerable part of the year. So that we have a  
fort

fort of Record here produc'd to prove an *improbable* matter of fact, which does not specify any determinate time, in which this fact was suppos'd to happen: we have a memorandum, purposely written to *undecieve* others in a remarkable point, deficient in in a *material* circumstance, necessary to give it authority and credit. On the whole then, we have just reason to suspect the evidence given in this cause, as *designedly* worded in such an *indeterminate ambiguous* manner to avoid the danger of being convicted of a falsehood; which might have been the case, if the fact had been limited precisely to any *particular* point of time.

6. Another particular observable is, that here is a palpable *misnomer*: *Dr. Gauden* is here stil'd *Bp. of Exeter*; whereas he was translated to *Worcester* in 1663, and died *Bp. of that Diocese*. Indeed this mistake, with regard to the *title* of a Person is not of much *importance*; yet it is *such* a one, as was not likely to be committed by one Lord speaking of another Lord member of the same house, (who of course bears the denomination of his see, who subscribes himself *Bp. of Worcester* and is so stil'd by others) and especially by the E. of *Anglesey*, who had the character of being a very exact and accurate man — nor by King *Charles*, who had translated him to *Worcester* — this mistake more probably might come from another quarter, where *Dr. Gauden* might be remembered only under the Character of *Bp. of Exeter*.

7. As to the circumstance of the *place* where this memorandum was found written; — who wou'd not

expect to find it in that *MS. copy*, which is here suppos'd to have been shewn to King *Charles*, and the Duke of *York*? yet it seems, it is not to be found *here*, where it most properly shou'd be plac'd, and might with the greatest reason be expected, but in a vacant leaf of a *printed Copy*: this is very unaccountable upon the present supposition. Nor can we conceive any *other* reason of this proceeding, than *this*, which seems to be the *true* one, viz. that this Noble Earl had *no* such *MS. Copy* of the Book, as is here pretended. And that he had not, will appear highly probable from the following considerations. For

8. 'Tis to be observ'd that this *pretended MS. Copy* was a very curious one, having *some corrections written with the King's own hand*, and as it was in the possession of as curious a Collector of every thing valuable in the Literary way as any person of his times, wou'd doubtless have been carefully preserv'd. But, since it is not extant, nor was ever known to be in the Earl's possession, it rather may be presum'd that there was *no such MS.* ever shewn; at least it requires a better proof than the *mere* assertion in the memorandum to induce any considerate man to believe it. Especially since we have the assurance of a Person, well acquainted with the Earl's Library, that he never *saw*, or *heard* that there ever was such a *MS. Copy*; and *this* Person is no other than *Lord Altham* the Earl's 3d Son, then Dean of *Exeter*, and Prebendary of *Westminster*. But further,

9. With regard to the *printed Copy* which contain'd this memorandum 'tis very unaccountable, that



that very circumstance shou'd be omitted, which was requisite to give *value* to the copy, and an air of *credibility* to the story; viz. the *corrections* written by King *Charles* in the MS: *these* at least shou'd have been transcrib'd and noted. But the Rev. and noble Person above-mention'd, who had frequent access to his Father's Library, and frequent conversation with him upon literary matters, declares that he never *saw*, never *heard* of such a memorandum in a printed Copy; and in confirmation of his opinion in this matter, he gives this proof — that he had turn'd over his Father's papers, found a *Parliamentary* “*diary*” written by him, relating particularly to *himself*, and “of *that very year*, which the memorandum refers to, “in which there are many things of far *less* consequence, and particularly what the King said to him in that house, but not one syllable of what is “express'd in the *memorandum*.” Had the allegation of the memorandum been *true*, it is scarce possible to conceive that an occurrence so *very singular* and extraordinary shou'd be *omitted* by the most accurate observer and industrious Collector of every thing curious — and a person too, who is represented as zealous to *undeceive* others in this point. This last circumstance comes now to be consider'd, from which we may perceive the *inconsistency* of the whole Proceeding. For

10. Let us observe *the End* for which this memorandum was written by one of the wisest men of that age — it was a publick-spirited one, viz. to undeceive others in a remarkable point — let us observe the

the *means* us'd in order to this *End*. He, who had a curious *MS. Copy*, writes this advertisement in a *printed Copy*, which, it seems, was not kept as a *Curiosity*, but dispers'd in the Library among other books; and so at last came into the Auctioneer's hands: in the mean time liable to various contingencies — perhaps to be torn out, — to fall into private hands, — to lie neglected, and never see the Light: and it seems, that in fact it lay hid unthought of and undiscover'd for about 11 years, and probably wou'd *never* have been known, but that very *providentially* it fell into the hands of Mr. Millington, the Auctioneer. So that very testimony, which was written to *undeceive* others, was all this while kept a secret to the Earl's family. Lord *Altham* for his part answers that he was never favour'd with this singular information — neither He nor any of his family ever heard his Father question the King's being the Author, or say any thing contain'd in the memorandum; nor does it appear, that any other persons nearly related by blood or interest had the least knowledge of the matter. This discovery, it seems, was *reserv'd* for the Auctioneer. All this while what a fine scheme of *undeceiving* the world is this, thus to keep them still in the *dark*? what an unaccountable *inconsistency* in the whole proceeding, highly reflecting on the understanding of that great *Statesman*, who is represented as having a certain *End* in view, and yet at the same time industrious to *disappoint* it by neglecting the proper *means*? But if the imputation of such absurd proceedings cannot be admitted con-

sistently with the Earl's known character, I think we shall find reason to exempt him from the imputation of *writing* this memorandum, and to consider the whole as a *forgery* coming from some *other* quarter — especially, if to the reasons already mention'd we add in the last place

11. The suspicious and disingenuous dealing of the *Person* who had the pretended memorandum in his *possession*; which seems design'd rather to *deceive* than *undeceive* the world. — For it was not openly communicated to the *publick*, nor submitted to the view of the most *curious* and *competent* judges; but kept close like a *secret* whisper'd about among a particular set of friends. Mr. *Wagstaffe* made frequent and earnest application, but Mr. *Millington* never wou'd favour him with the sight of it. Lord *Altham*, who was well acquainted with his Father's hand, and desirous to inform himself in this matter, cou'd obtain nothing of him but a *promise*, which he cou'd never get perform'd; and probably for this very reason, because he was a *competent* judge of the case. This circumstance *alone* wou'd give sufficient grounds for suspicion; and, if we take in the evidences contain'd in the memorandum itself, upon the whole we need not scruple to reject the allegation as a fiction.

So much I thought proper to assert by way of remarks upon the memorandum extract'd out of Mr. *Wagstaffe's* Vindication &c. to which I refer the Reader for a more full satisfaction.

But to pursue the history of this controversy — It has been observ'd that this memorandum was suppos'd

to be written in 1675. — that, during the remaining part of the Earl's life, for about 11 years, it lay *dormant* in his Library entirely unknown and undiscover'd — in Apr. 1686 the Earl dies; and *that* year, his Library one of the most valuable private collections of books in *Europe*, was, contrary to his intention and direction, order'd to be sold by *Auction*; the management of the affair was committed to Mr. *Millington* the Auctioneer; and herewith opportunity was given to make *this* notable discovery: this was soon made, and propagated not without success among *some* people, in an *age*, fond of novelty, when the general disaffection to King *James* dispos'd men to receive any impression in prejudice to the Royal Cause. Bp. *Gauden*, it seems, was now found to be the writer of the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. This was indeed a *new* and *strange* claim; such as never appears to have been made by the Bp. in his *life* time; or, if it had, wou'd certainly never have been *credited*. He had been now dead about 23 years. Yet so it happen'd, that, even at so great a distance of time a voucher cou'd be rais'd up in confirmation of this posthumous evidence. For Dr. *Walker*, who was, during the times of usurpation, Curate to Dr. *Gauden*, then Dean of *Bocking* (to which he was collated by ordinance of Parliament in 1643.) being talk'd with on this occasion, immediately recollected all the informations he at several times had receiv'd from Dr. *Gauden*; — and roundly asserted his title to the work — thus the secret which hitherto they both had conceal'd, was at once boldly publish'd: Dr. *Walker* pleas'd himself with

with the *singular* merit of knowing much of the matter; and officiously reported more than *he*, or Dr. *Gauden* knew to be true — His testimony upon this was call'd in question and invalidated: a paper-war commenc'd; the controversy was carried on with warmth: Mrs. *Gauden's* narrative is taken in to make up the evidence; and certain papers of the Bishop in the hands of one Mr. *North* are produc'd to support the Bishop's claim.

I shall not trouble the Reader with a tedious detail of the circumstances of the whole Evidence; I choose to refer him to the printed accounts of Dr. *Walker* or Mr. *Toland's* *Amyntor*; and, I think, he will readily excuse me when he is assur'd that all is resolv'd into the Testimony of Bp. *Gauden* concerning *himself*. This is really so much the case that what is allerdg'd besides, is not to be look'd upon as any evidence at *all*.

I leave the Reader to judge what stress is to be laid upon a claim of this nature; only desiring him to apply the case home to himself. Let us then suppose him to be in possession of a valuable envied property, which nevertheless he had quietly enjoy'd about forty years: let us further suppose, that an impudent Voucher or two shou'd afterward agree to set up the claim of some other Gentleman (who had been dead between 20 and 30 years) merely upon this footing, viz. that that same Gentleman forsooth had *told* them *he* had a just title to it — wou'd he be convinc'd by *such* evidence, and tamely give up his property? no certainly; unless his infatuation was

as great as the claimant's impudence. And therefore I think, that by the same way of reasoning, he never cou'd be influenc'd by such idle, precarious, posthumous, hear-say testimony to admit Dr. *Gauden's* arrogant claim, and dispossess King *Charles* of his allow'd right.

I beg leave to offer a few strictures on the circumstances of this evidence.

1. As to the Papers said to be left by Bp. *Gauden* in possession of Mr. *North*; — 'tis sufficient to observe in general, that they are such, as are far from *ascertaining* his title to the thing in dispute, inasmuch as they make *no mention* at all of it: — but they are withal *such*, as ought not to be produc'd by those, who have a tender regard for his character; since they tend to expose his weakness, his arrogance, and ambition; and leave this impression on the Reader's mind, that the man, who cou'd write in *such* a manner, was capable of saying *any* thing; and so in the event they *invalidate* this testimony. But, as nothing appears to be expressly mention'd of his claim to the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, we may dismiss this evidence, as quite *impertinent*, and alledging nothing to the purpose.

2dly With regard to Mrs. *Gauden's* narrative — I can look upon it in no other view, than as an officious attempt of a vain woman to improve her husband's tale to the best advantage. As to the singularity in her relation of facts and circumstances — it is of little import whether the fiction came from her *own*, or her *husband's* imagination. It seems the  
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Dr. claim'd the merit of writing *something* in behalf of the Royal cause; and on that account he is an importunate solicitor for higher preferments; and it seems the Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ is pitch'd upon for that *something*, as being a piece which wou'd do him the greatest credit, and best answer his designs.

3dly, With regard to Dr. *Walker's* evidence — this is on good grounds charg'd with *inconsistency* in three respects — 1. *inconsistency* with the *memorandum* in support of which it is brought; 2dly, with the relation of the affair formerly given by *himself*; 3dly, with Mrs. *Gauden's* narrative.

1. According to Dr. *Walker's* account Dr. *Gauden* is represented as *not knowing whether the King had ever seen his performance*: whereas the memorandum mentions *some corrections in the MS. copy with the King's own hand*. Now, if Dr. *Gauden* had been the author of the work, he cou'd not well be ignorant of this circumstance; and, when it appear'd in publick, he must have known and observ'd any variation made by *another hand*.

2. In the next place 'tis observable that his *printed account* in 1691 disagrees with his *attestation*, given in by him in the year *preceeding* as the whole he *then* knew of that affair: now the reason of this variation may be thus accounted for. It seems his assertions had been throughly canvass'd, and were found such as wou'd not stand the test; and therefore, when he *publish'd* his account, he found it necessary to *omit* what he had before asserted, and to insert some *new* facts and circumstances, and to shape his relation in

a different manner to serve a present turn. Now Truth is an uniform, invariable thing; and in the present case it seems not to be much regarded by that Witness, who occasionally *retracts* and *shifts* his evidence; no credit ought to be given to a Voucher, who is found not consistent with *himself*.

3. 'Tis a suspicious circumstance much to the discredit of any cause, that the witnesses on the same side of the question *disagree* in the relation of facts: such evidences are justly to be set aside as destroying one another, both being probably as distant from the truth as they are from one another. And as to Dr. *Walker* in particular — 'tis not much to be wonder'd that he shou'd contradict *others*, who is found inconsistent with *himself*. Now in the present case his testimony appears to contradict Mrs. *Gauden's* narrative in no less than *thirteen* instances. These Mr. *Wagstaffe* has exhibited drawn up in two Columns confronting one another *in the Defence of his Vindication* p. 53. and to this I refer the Reader. Now upon the whole, what must every equitable Judge think of evidences thus circumstantiated, thus embarrass'd with the charge of impertinencies, inconsistencies, and contradictions? all these must be look'd upon as so many deviations from the strait line of Truth; and as such, betray the *distress* and *weakness* of the Cause, which they are brought to support.

I must here beg leave to remind the Reader, that, however pertinent, full, and clear these evidences might be thought, yet still they are only *hear-say* post-humous evidences and resolvable into Dr. *Gauden's*



testimony concerning himself. — And if it be a generally receiv'd principle of equity that a Man's evidence in his *own* case is not to be admitted, to the prejudice of another, who is in possession of the Right, I presume all that is suppos'd to come from Dr. *Gauden*, will have but little weight in the present instance.

But after all, it never appear'd that Dr. *Gauden* himself *did* ever make this claim: on the contrary it appears that he join'd in the common acknowledgement of the King's title, and which he made in a particular manner on a certain occasion, when being at *Exeter* he preach'd on Jan. 30. For the proof of this, as a thing notorious, the attestation of one of his Clergy at *Exeter* is produc'd by Mr. *Wagstaffe*. But if after this he *did* make any such claim, the charge of disingenuity and prevarication will stick on his memory, and blast his credit.

Before I entirely dismiss this subject it may not be amiss to bring into one point of view several considerations, which shew the high *improbability* of his being the Author of this excellent performance — And the 1st. is that, which will strike the Apprehension of every Critical Reader, his *incapacity*; this is collected from internal evidences, the peculiar *spirit* and *style*, as well as the *matter* of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, compar'd with every production of his Pen, so different in kind, and degree, distinguish'd by such an inimitable excellence and superiority, that we may venture to assert that it truly bears the King's image and superscription; and that the Royal coin cou'd not be counterfeited by so *unskillfull* a hand.

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2dly, The testimony of Dr. *Gauden's* friends, who give him the character of a pious and good man — Upon this supposition and consistently with *this* character, how can they allow him to be the author of such a fraud? for is it not a *dishonest* proceeding to impose a cheat upon the world, to personate the King in his meditations and secret thoughts, and in his appeals and addresses to God? But this will still appear more improbable if we consider, that,

3dly, He never appear'd to act upon *principles* and *motives* which might induce him to an attempt of this kind. He had no special attachment to the King's service; he was not his Chaplain, he was never preferr'd by *him*. He was made Dean of *Bocking* in 1643 by an usurp'd Power, by ordinance of the *Parliament* — He was an occasional conformist to the humour of the times; he took the *Covenant*; and held the office of *Master of the Temple*, during the Usurpation. Upon the whole, he rather appears to have given great proofs of his zeal to hold his lucrative preferments than to support the Royal cause. And therefore it seems very improbable that a person with such dispositions, in such circumstances, shou'd so boldly engage in such an *invidious* undertaking, attended with such *difficulty* and danger.

Now after all this, The Reader may with some surprize ask, how it came to pass that Dr. *Gauden* was pitch'd upon for the reputed author of the work; I shall endeavour to answer his enquiry, and account for the proceeding. It happens in *this*, as in many *other* false reports, that there are some circumstances which,

which, being misunderstood or misapplied, give the occasion. It seems that about the time the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ made it's Appearance, two pieces came out in Dr. Gauden's name, viz. the *non-obligation of the Covenant*, and a *Protestation against the King's Murder*; in which aæt most of the *Presbyterians* join'd, in opposition to their Rivals the *Independents*, who by this time had gain'd the superiority. These were printed by *Royston* the King's Printer. On this occasion Dr. Gauden was known to have frequent intercourse with that Pres: and on account of the *subject* of his Papers, 'tis possible that he might have access to Bp. Duppa, as his friends report, and the work might be favour'd with his approbation and assistance: And, on *this* Account after the Restoration 'tis probable that he magnified his services, and thought himself entitled to some reward; and accordingly as to what the papers, left behind him, mention of the merit he claim'd of writing something in behalf of the Royal cause, this most probably relates to the *above-mention'd* tracts, which Mrs. Gauden and Dr. Walker misapply to the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. But further, what if it shou'd appear that a considerable part of it was to be seen before the publication in *the Doctor's own hand writing*? we may perhaps wonder, that this has not been more insisted on as the shrewdest Argument to prove that he wrote it: but it happens very unluckily, that this circumstance shews that he was merely a *transcriber* and not the *Author*. The truth of the case was this — There was a correspondence between the Dr. and Mr. *Simmons*, formerly Minister  
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of *Rayne* in the Neighbourhood of *Bocking*, who was the very Person entrusted with the publication of the work both at *Dugard's* and *Royston's* Prefs. The Doctor borrows the MS. of him, desirous to peruse it: being oblig'd to restore it in a very short time, he sets about *transcribing* as much as he cou'd in the limited time; and this is indeed the only way he was capable of writing the Εικὼν Βασιλική. One *William Allen*, who sat up all night and was assistant to him on this occasion, gave this account of the affair.

These are the most *probable* grounds, which gave occasion to the mistake or misrepresentation: the above-mention'd circumstances, it seems, were known to agree with the Case of *Dr. Gauden*, and no other person; Accordingly *he* was pitch'd upon for the Author of the performance: if they cou'd have been applied to some more able Hand, and supported by the like evidence, *Dr. Gauden's* name wou'd never have appear'd in the dispute, loaded as it is with the weight of a reputation, which he is unable sustain.

I have now gone through the examination of the *Grounds*, on which the genuineness of the Εικὼν Βασιλική has been call'd in question — the *pretended memorandum* has been thoroughly consider'd, and disprov'd; and will, I presume, among all impartial judges pass for no other than a *forgery* — the vouchers brought in support of it have been examin'd, and found *impertinent*, and *inconsistent* in their testimony; and the whole evidence justly exploded, as an *idle gossiping tale*. And by this time methinks, the Reader looks back on the whole proceeding not without astonishment

ment and indignation, while he considers the *injustice* done to the good King, by dispossessing him of his right and title to his own work, a right establish'd by long uncontested possession, — and that upon the most *insignificant, precarious, self-confuted* evidences: — and withal the affront offer'd to common sense, and the impudence of obtruding on the world the belief such an improbable story on such incompetent grounds — and lastly (what is as monstrous as the *imposition* of the fraud itself) the blind *credulity* of those men, who implicitly receive and industriously propagate the slander, resolv'd, in spite of the means of conviction, to countenance every report which detracts from the personal credit of the good King, and thereby weakens the defence of his Cause. In this instance we perceive the surprizing effect of strong *party prejudices*: we perceive that there is no assertion so improbable, but what will be admitted and believ'd; none so clear and unexceptionable, but what will be question'd and reject'd by persons under the influence of this deluding principle.

I will venture to say that, among the vast number of books publish'd and without dispute receiv'd under the names of their respective Authors, few were ever known to carry along with them so many and so clear proofs of their genuineness as the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλέως*, which I shall presently make appear. As the King's performance it was universally receiv'd, and acknowledg'd without contradiction; as such it was consider'd by the Usurpers, who employ'd *Milton* to write a formal answer to it. And now when this greatest effort

effort of wit and malice prov'd unsuccessful, it was at last resolv'd to strike a very bold stroke and dispossess the King of his title to this as well as the other branches of his property. In this work indeed a most worthy instrument has been employ'd: the authority of *this* Book is attack'd by the same hand which attempted to demolish the *Canon* of the *Holy Scriptures*.

In a dispute of this kind it might with reason be thought sufficient to answer all objections, and to clear the point from all the exceptions made: when this is done according to the allow'd principles of reasoning the Presumption of course must still, as before, stand in favour of the reputed Author. But as the particular facts brought in proof of our point are not universally known, or consider'd by the parties engag'd on either side of the question; for the satisfaction of the one, and for the convicting, if not convincing, the other, I proceed to exhibit, in a compendious summary view, the evidences, by which the genuineness of the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ* is prov'd. I shall here chiefly insist on the external evidences which arise from the testimony of others, submitting the application of the internal evidences contain'd in the work itself to the judgment of the intelligent Reader.

Now with regard to the testimonies brought in proof of the fact we may in general observe, that they are many in number, various in *kind* and *degree*, coming from *enemies* as well as *friends* to the Royal cause, all concurring and agreeing in one common point. These I shall recite as they are recapitulated  
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by Mr. *Wagstaffe* in his *Vindication* p. 109 and digested in proper order of time and instead of commenting on them in this place refer the Reader to the several parts of his book, for the more distinct explication and proof.

1. Then, we have the *Princely Pelican* giving an account of the early intentions of the King before he put pen to paper; and also of the steps, and lineaments, and of the gradual proceeding of the King during the time of his writing it, and the progress he made in it: moreover he mentions two very remarkable matters of fact, viz. the taking of the King's Cabinet with a considerable part of these papers by the Rebels in the battle of *Naseby*, and their being afterwards restor'd to the King.

2. Dr. *Rhodes*, who conducted the King from *Newark* to *Oxford* in disguise, and on many occasions attended him, read part of the King's book written in the King's own Hand.

3. We have several proofs of the following facts, — that so much of the King's book as was then written (probably more than the first 17 chapters) being seiz'd by the Rebels in the unfortunate battle of *Naseby*, was kept in the Conqueror's hands above two years, -- that during that interval three Persons in particular saw and read the papers in the King's own hand writing -- viz. the Earl of *Manchester*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Col. *Oakey*.

4. Judge *Morton*, then a Colonel in the King's army, read on one side of a Paper, which the King gave him hastily to write down some instructions, a paragraph which afterwards he saw in the beginning of  
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of the 21st chapter in the King's own hand-writing.

5. The Rev. Mr. *Dillingham* at *Holdenby* read one chapter of the Book fresh written by the King himself.

6. It appears that the King employ'd Dr. *Gorge* and Arch-Bp. *Usher* to recover his papers out of the Rebels hands — and at length Major *Huntington* obtain'd them from General *Fairfax*, and restor'd them to the King at *Hampton-court* — that in the mean time, before he restored them, he favour'd Sr *Feremy Whichcott* with a sight of them, who having perus'd them transcrib'd about 17 chapters.

7. In 1647 Sr. *John Brattle* and his father were employ'd in methodizing the loose papers, all wrote with the King's own Hand.

8. Mr. *Lever*, Page of the Bedchamber in ordinary to his Majesty, saw the King at several times writing some of his meditations — read them often and had the care and custody of them, and deliver'd them to the King at *Hurst* Castle.

9. Mr. *Anthony Mildmay* had a Bible given him by the King, where several parts of SS. especially the *Psalms*, were mark'd by the King; and comparing these mark'd places with the *Eixòr*, he found them to be the same which were us'd in that book.

10. Captain *Wade* attending the King in the Isle of *Wight* saw part of the book in the King's own writing.

11. Serjeant *Brown* saw it in loose papers pinn'd up behind the hangings in *Carisbrook* Castle.

12. Col: *Hammond* saw the King writing some of  
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it, which he took the liberty to read, and moreover had some of the sheets in rough-draught under the King's hands in his own possession after the King's murder.

13. Mr. *Reading* (who by order of the Parliament attended the King in the place of some of his servants whom they had dismiss'd) saw the King writing it — moreover he wrote some of it himself the King dictating to him.

14. *Oliver Cromwell* did not scruple to own that the King wrote it.

15. The Author of the *Εικὼν ἢ προσω* (publish'd in 1649 in answer to a libel against the King entitled *Εικὼν ἀληθινὴ*) saw it in the King's hand — heard the King own it — asserts that many persons had seen it in the King's hand — that even then it might be seen by any that wou'd give themselves the trouble of looking after it.

16. Mr. *Royston* had an order from the King to print it in the beginning of *October*; — the book itself was sent him *Dec. 23*; and according to that order it was actually printed before *Jan. 30*. Mr. *Milbourn* and Mr. *Clifford* assisted at the printing it — the Copy they printed by was written by Mr. *Odart* secretary to Sr. *J. Nicholas* — moreover Mr. *Herne* attests that Mr. *Odart* and others took copies of it.

17. Mr. *Dugard* also at the same time printed it — the Copy he us'd was in the King's own hand.

18. Mr. *Simmons* convey'd both these copies to the Press — he corrected the proof-sheets — he affirm'd all along, and especially on his death-bed, that the  
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Book was of the King's own writing — that the Copy by which Mr. *Dugard* printed it was written in the King's own hand.

19. Dr. *Hooker*, who corrected this book at *Dugard's* Press, attests that Mr. *Simmons* receiv'd it from the King himself, taking it from under his blue Watchet Waistcoat; and that the *Frontispiece* and *Motto's* were drawn by the King's own hand, and wrote with his own Pencil.

20. St. *Thomas Herbert* had one of the Copies written by the King's own hand left him as a Legacy by the King.

21. Lastly, King *Charles II.* had also another Copy in the King's hand, which he shew'd to Mr. *Wood* at *Breda*.

After all this is it not astonishing, that any man of common sense and honesty shou'd deny K. *Charles* to be the Author of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική? we have before us accumulated evidences, direct positive testimony, by which the fact is incontestably prov'd. Were it a matter of Right or Property in dispute, where strict legal proof was requir'd, even *this* is not wanting in the present case. I am sure more proof is found than cou'd reasonably be *expected*; and I further add, more than *needed* to be alledged; since the *intrinsic* evidence alone is sufficient; — since the work itself contains reasons sufficient to determine the persuasion of every considerate man; the peculiarity of the *matter* and *manner* of writing — the mention of several transactions — the motives — and circumstances of certain proceedings which cou'd be known only by

the Party immediately interested, nor cou'd be express'd so feelingly by any other Pen, — and that inimitable strain of lively, copious eloquence, which animates the whole performance — these are characters, which point out the true Author, and admit of no counterfeit. But, as this is a matter of Criticism arising from a comparative view of things, I must leave it submitted to the judgment of the intelligent Reader, which in the mean while I can scarce help anticipating in so clear a case. Whether the *King* did *actually* write the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ* is a matter of fact to be determin'd by proper evidence — yet I must here remark one circumstance in *his* behalf, which cannot be applied to the case of *Dr. Gauden*, viz. that his abilities in point of parts, learning, and knowledge have been generally allow'd: He was esteem'd *capable* of writing it: His sad experience furnish'd him with direct and immediate knowledge of many important transactions, which the Doctor cou'd no more describe, than feel: His capacity as a Writer had been involuntarily prov'd by his enemies, who contrary to the rules of decency and humanity publish'd his *private Letters* &c. And afterwards in every conference and paper-controversy they had continually fresh convictions; and many of them express'd their admiration of his abilities, as a *Statesman* and *Divine*, when in solitude, and destitute of all assistance, he maintain'd the dispute against their most able champions, and appear'd superior in the management of his argument as well as the merits of his Cause. It wou'd indeed be a very uneasy exercise of the Reader's patience to read over all that *Dr. Gauden* has

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wrote, but I am perswaded he upon examination will soon perceive he never did or cou'd write any thing like the *Εὐὸν Βασιλῆα*; so that upon *this* footing, considering only the *characters* of the Persons, and abstracting from the proofs of the facts, the account, which ascribes the honour of the performance to Dr. *Gauden*, appears on the face of the thing altogether *incredible*, and that in favour of K. *Charles* will at least appear *probable*. But when all the evidences on both sides of the question are stated in a fair light, the point will be at once determin'd, the King's right will be for ever establish'd: even prejudic'd men may at last receive conviction, and be asham'd of their own credulity and the impudence of the astonishing accusation.

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